Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-91-177
Thursday
12 September 1991

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FBIS-EEU-91-177 *12 September 1991*

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Kapllani Meets CSCE Foreign Ministers in Moscow

AU1109133891 Tirana ATA in English 0919 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Tirana, September 11 (ATA)—On the first day proceedings of the CSCE Conference on Human Dimensions, which started in Moscow on September 10, the Albanian foreign minister, Muhamet Kapllani, met and conducted negotiations with foreign ministers of some participating countries in this conference.

At the meeting with the Italian foreign minister, Gianni De Michelis, they stressed among the other things that the bilateral relations will be an object of intensive negotiations these days. They will be completed with important agreements which will be signed in Rome during the visit of the Albanian high ranking delegation to Italy. The two ministers devoted special attention to the Yugoslav crisis, whose solution will be closely linked even with peace in the Balkans and Europe and with the future of the Albanians living in Yugoslavia, without whom every solution would be temporary and unstable.

At the meeting with the foreign minister of France, Roland Dumas, they spoke of the revival of the relations between the two countries. Both sides expressed their readiness to enhance the ties in the economic, cultural fields and in other fields of common interest. The two ministers dwelt in length on the grave situation in Yugoslavia and expected that the conference of peace in The Hague, which will resume these days, will tackle with the Yugoslav crisis, devoting the proper attention to the situation of the Albanians and peoples of minority living in Yugoslavia.

At the meeting of Muhamet Kapllani with the foreign minister of Turkey, Safa Giray, it was spoken on the spirit of sincere friendship and cooperation characterizing the relations between our two countries. Exchanging views on the recent developments in the Balkan peninsula and particularly concerning the grave situation in Yugoslavia, they pointed to the common worry over the tragic events in that country and expressed their desire that the Yugoslav crisis be solved observing the will and interests of all the peoples living in that country. In his meeting with the deputy prime minister and foreign minister of Malta, Guido de Marco, Muhamet Kapllani treated of among the other things the need of the further intensification of relations between the two countries. Guido de Marco expressed the readiness of the government of Malta to render its contribution to the employment of the Albanian workers in other Mediterranean countries. He also pointed out that his government will offer scholarships for the Albanian students in the University of Valetta.

The secretary of state for foreign affairs of the Vatican, Jean Louis Tauran, when meeting with the Albanian foreign minister, expressed his pleasure over the establishment of diplomatic relations between Albania and the Vatican and stressed the determination of the Holy See for the quick and all-sided development of bilateral ties. He was of the same opinion with Kapllani on the dangers the recent events in Yugoslavia pose, including even the serious violations of the status of Kosovo by Serbia and its repressive policy towards the Albanians in Yugoslavia. In the talks of Minister Kapllani with the general secretary of the European Council, Catherine Lalumiere, they extensively discussed on the process of quick and complete integration of Albania in all the European processes. She pointed to the support Albania will enjoy from the European Council in the future.

Muhamet Kapllani also met with the foreign ministers of Romania, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia.

UN Official on Arrival of Medical, Food Aid

AU1109135291 Tirlana ATA in English 0940 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Tirana, September 11 (ATA)—Mr. Yusuf Ibrahim, resident vice representative of the UNDP [United Nations Development Program] in Albania, gave a press conference in Tirana on September 10. In a statement for the press he said among others: According to the evaluations made in Albania from June 19-27 by the mission of international agency of humanitarian aids, the UNO has accelerated the work to secure aid for Albania. The two first shipments of the emergency aid arrived in Tirana on September 7. They are estimated to $146,800. Six other shipments with food articles and vegetable oil are expected to arrive within the next three weeks. This medical and food aid is estimated to $1 million. The aid will be distributed in the districts of Mirdite, Shkoder, Lezhe, Fier, Vlore, Diber, Gjirokaster, Kukes, Korce, and Kavaje.

Pashko, Mezini, Cabiri Arrive in Italy

AU1109194891 Tirana ATA in English 1813 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Tirana, September 11 (ATA)—In the framework of the visit of the government delegation of our country to the Italian Republic, the deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister of the Economy, Gramoz Pashko, arrived to Italy on September 11. He is accompanied by the minister of mining and energy resources, Drini Mezini; the minister of foreign economic relations, Ylli Cabiri; the general director of the State Bank, Ilir Hoti, and others.

In the morning, the deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister of Economy, Gramoz Pashko, was received in private audience by the Pope John Paul II. In this meeting, after laying an emphasis on the importance of establishing diplomatic relations between the state of the Vatican and our country, they spoke also of the intensification of the religious activity and the establishment of the religious faith in Albania, for which the Holy See will commit itself to help Albania. Mr. Pashko invited His Holiness for a visit to Albania, visit which the Pope John Paul II will realise with satisfaction in a near suitable period of time.

On September 11, the president of ENI [National Hydrocarbons Corporation], Gabriele Cagliari, received in separate meeting the minister of mining and energy resources, Drini Mezini; the minister of foreign economic relations, Ylli Cabiri; and the general director of the Albanian State Bank, Ilir Hoti. On this occasion the agreement on the off-shore oil exploration, extraction and exploitation was signed between our Oil and Gas Department and Agip Overseas Ltd. for the Adriatic 2 block.

In the afternoon, a series of meetings were conducted at the seat of the Italian Foreign Ministry between our government delegation headed by the deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of economy, Gramoz Pashko, and highest representatives of the Italian state and private firms as ENEL, Olivetti, Ferruzzi, Montedisson, Oester Trading, etc. Of interest were also the meetings conducted with the president of the Albanian Bank and with the general director of Italy's banks association where the readiness of the Italian bank institutions was voiced to grant Albania a general bank assistance and to contribute, by accomplishing certain obligations, to putting into operation the credits and obligations inherited by the Albanian side.

Foreign Minister Kapllani on New Democracy

AU1009183791 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 4 Sep 91 pp 1-2

[Interview with Foreign Minister Muhamet Kapllani by Pellumb Bataj; place and date not given: "Albanian Diplomacy Acts Under the New Conditions of Democracy"]

[Text] [Bataj] Mr. Minister, a personal question: When I was a university student, you were a teacher. I would like to know which "friends" made you a minister. When you were a teacher, students used to say, "Professor Meti [Muhamet] is capable and a good person." We in other departments knew you through them. I think that your work is generally appreciated. Our foreign policy has now become very open. How did you start your diplomatic career?

[Kapllani] It is not uncommon for people not to end up where they started in their lives. For example, many foreign ministers in our times have arrived at "the temple of diplomacy" from different directions. Those who come from academia, the universities, are not considered to have sinned when they enter this temple. I sought my friends among books, students, in getting to know the culture of my people and Europe, and in contacts with intellectual and creative circles. As for my starting out on the road of diplomacy, I can say after 15 years that it happened by accident.

[Bataj] There has been time since the establishment of political pluralism to reflect on our foreign policy. What were the most serious mistakes in this field under monist rule?

[Kapllani] This question calls for special analysis and even a separate interview. Nevertheless, one thing is clear: In the monist period, the greatest mistake with the most serious consequences of many kinds stemmed from the evil of identifying the party with the state. The party practically was the state. In foreign policy, this led to party congresses laying down an immovable platform for this policy of the state. There was nothing left for the Foreign Ministry to do but to fanatically follow party decisions and instructions. There was no question of analysis, although there was a lot of talk about the "analysis and identification" of this extremely ideological policy, as if on paramilitary training. Battened down in a bunker of ideology, it was essentially a barren policy, which saw opponents everywhere and eternal enemies that had to be uncompromisingly fought against, and which led the country into a painful self-isolation that indisputably seriously damaged our national cause. It was as painful as it was paradoxical that a small country like ours, which even in ancient times gave to and took from the world, shut itself up in its shell in modern times. What is worse, it declared political war on the United States and the Soviet Union, and on the EEC and other large and important international organizations such as the IMF, the World Bank, and so forth. Moreover, Albania refused to join the CSCE, forbade under its Constitution aid, credit, and economic cooperation with foreign countries, and so forth. To all these things must be added the ban on the free movement of people and ideas. In this sense, it is vital for our foreign policy today to make up for all this lost time in relations with the world.

[Bataj] You have just returned from Israel and are preparing to establish diplomatic relations with the Vatican. Diplomatic relations have been established with a number of countries. We would like to tell our readers what prospects for the future exist in this direction.

[Kapllani] One of the Foreign Ministry's main commitments in the period of the democratization of the country's life has been to fill in the blank spaces on our country's diplomatic map. This was done by establishing diplomatic relations with a number of countries, such as recently with Israel and South Korea, and by preparing establishment diplomatic relations soon with the Vatican and later with South Africa, and so forth. This shows that Albania is now an open and unprejudiced country that forges equal and useful ties to everybody on the basis of the criteria and principles that define relations among sovereign states. We may note here that the countries I have mentioned are states with considerable economic, financial, and technological potential, with whom Albania can create fruitful ties of cooperation.

[Bataj] Demands have been raised in the legislature, and the press is also writing a great deal about this, claiming that pluralism should accelerate the renewal of staff (meaning staff in your ministry and the embassies) on the basis of the most capable people and not on the familiar factors borne in mind hitherto. What specifically is being done in this direction?

[Kapllani] Of course, under the new conditions of democracy in our country, democratic processes on a European scale, and the democratization of international relations, there is a need for new and up-to-date

thinking in the Foreign Ministry's work. Renewal in the broadest sense of the word has now become more than necessary. It implies a renewal of foreign policy itself and of our concept of our work, and, as a result, the renewal of the structure of the ministry and its staff and representatives. The pluralist society and law-governed state that we are building presuppose the existence of deideologized state structures. This is especially true in the case of the Foreign Ministry. We are setting aside our memories of the past, when a party dominated the state. This principle must also hold true under the conditions of a multiparty system. It is no accident that the Foreign Ministry has been divested of all party characteristics, on the basis of the legislature's new law. The Foreign Ministry should now serve only national interests, carrying out the state policy laid down by the government and approved by the pluralist legislature. I think that, in a pluralist society, any confusion of the Albanian state's foreign policy with party interests, transitory or electoral interests, or, still worse, careerist interests cannot fail to threaten and even harm the interests of the country.

Recently, in particular, we in the Foreign Ministry have been making conscientious efforts to restructure the ministry's departments, personnel, and representations. We have replaced directors and ambassadors and will continue to do so. Some bureaucratic delay cannot be excluded. We have now sought the acceptance of five new ambassadors. We will soon do the same with other ambassadors. This also goes for the rest of the staff in our diplomatic representations abroad.

No doubt the personnel of the ministry itself requires renewal with new people who will be outstanding for their fresh thinking, professional abilities, and broad political and general culture. We are trying to achieve this through competitions that will find young men and women with knowledge and culture, worthy of representing their country with ability, not from a party viewpoint.

[Bataj] Many leaders of political parties, associations, and so forth, in interviews given to the press or the radio and television, say that the United States, Israel, and so on and so on promised us aid. Bearing in mind that aid is not granted to political parties but to the Albanian people through their state to overcome the difficulties of the transition to a market economy in every sense, what can you specifically tell us about the granting of aid now and in the future?

[Kapllani] The aid granted so far has in a way become well known through the press and television. I would, in particular, single out the Italian short-term and medium-term aid and credit, the aid granted by Turkey, and so forth. Meanwhile, talks are continuing with the IMF, the World Bank, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and other institutions. We must admit that the attention of the EEC and its member-states and also the United States has increased in view of the difficult economic situation through which our country is passing, and they have stated that economic support for Albania today is support for democracy. A roundtable devoted solely to Albania will soon be organized in Brussels, at which high-level government officials from our country and the EEC will meet to identify new opportunities for cooperation from which Albania will gain.

I am optimistic that our relations with the world will expand, and the more the reforms progress and democracy grows, the more others will help us and cooperate with us. However, inasmuch as you have given me the opportunity, I would like to repeat something that I observed in the talks I conducted in various countries and with various people. As far as credit and investment for Albania are concerned, they all emphasize that two things are first necessary: a legal framework and political stability. Guaranteeing these two things is a basic condition for attracting foreign capital and investment to Albania, and their absence will irreparably damage our national interests. I wish to believe, and am indeed convinced, that all of the political parties agree on this, and this is of particular importance. It is likewise something positive that the foreign policy of the National Stability Government has been achieved by a consensus among the political parties, and this must be fully expressed in the government's work. Nevertheless, it is important to understand that the Foreign Ministry is not the sole foreign policy institution and that foreign policy is formulated and implemented by interrelated and interdependent structures, involving, for instance, the legislature, the government, and the president.

In our new pluralist and democratic state, each of these institutions, including the Foreign Ministry, must be well aware of its rights, duties, and responsibilities to avoid any sign of a lack of organization or amateurism, and, still more, of confusion or of being found wanting and unprepared. Everybody knows well that the national cause affects us all, but this does not mean that discussion of it should take to the streets. It is a great and sacred cause that calls for all seriousness and proper respect when considering it.

[Bataj] We think that economic ties to foreign countries in a way start with diplomacy. To what extent do the staff of your ministry and our representations in foreign countries understand this?

[Kapllani] These days, diplomacy as an instrument of foreign policy implies efforts to forge ties to and relations with the world. When we talk about international relations, it is economic relations that have now taken the foreground. The very fact that economic development is now considered an essential ingredient in international security shows the priority given to economic ties to foreign countries. Nevertheless, we must admit that the Foreign Ministry and our representations abroad have not succeeded in coping with the demands of the times. Especially during our time of reform and our transition to a market economy, we need special energy and up-to-date thinking to achieve such a thing.

[Bataj] We journalists possess information of many different kinds. One report describes you as a man of great initiative. Does this have some connection with your Kavaje origin?

[Kapllani] I have always appreciated the fine qualities of the people of Kavaje, such as their initiative and very practical spirit, as in their proverb "Profit and loss are brother and sister." By this, the Kavaje people mean that achieving a difficult goal and progress imply sacrifice, and that reaching a fine and noble goal often requires risk, not apathy. I am proud of my origin. Kavaje is not a town of computers or information technology. It produces salt, and its skilled craftsmen make beautiful pottery from the local clay. The people of Kavaje love music just as much as they are politically sensitive. I am proud that the people of Kavaje joined the front ranks of democracy in the dramatic democratic changes in Albania.

[Bataj] Until recently, much was written and said in our media about Yugoslavia not disintegrating. What do you think now, under present circumstances?

[Kapllani] We have never encouraged the disintegration of Yugoslavia. If Yugoslavia, as an artificially created state, is now in crisis, this worries us for the same reasons that it worries the Balkans and Europe, and, somewhat more, because 3 million Albanians, or half our nation, live in Yugoslavia. It is evident that Yugoslavia can no longer exist in the form of the Yugoslavia of AVNOJ [Serbo-Croatian abbreviation: Antifascist National Council for the Liberation of Yugoslavia]. What Yugoslavia will be like, if it continues to exist, will depend on its peoples. The Albanians, Yugoslavia's third-largest population group in terms of numbers, must be at the table as equals of the other peoples of Yugoslavia in making any decision about its future. Excluding the Albanians or making decisions against their interests would mean that nothing would be solved. Let us hope and believe that Europe, at the end of this century, will not only not repeat the injustices perpetrated against the Albanians at the start of the century, but will also correct them and put things right. Neither Kosovo nor Albania can be treated any longer as they were at the start of this century.

[Bataj] Thank you.

EC To 'Isolate' Nation If BSP Wins Election

AU1109141091 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 5 Sep 91 p 1

[Article by Stefana Gergova: "Europe Will Isolate Bulgaria if the Socialists Win the Election"]

[Text] Bulgaria will not be placed on an equal footing with Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia—this opinion has recently been voiced by certain West European statesmen. According to Patricia Rawlings, a UK member of the European Parliament, it will be difficult for the West to separate Bulgaria from Romania and Albania. Ms. Rawlings believes, nonetheless, that some arguments do exist in our country's favor.

The conduct of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] during the Soviet coup, however, led to a marked cooling of EC sympathies toward us. Furthermore, the passages in the Electoral Law that restrict the rights of Bulgarian citizens abroad have also aroused considerable disapproval.

The proposal to start negotiations on Bulgaria and Romania's eventually becoming associate members of the EC also encountered considerable resistance from many sides. The communique of the EC Commission states that this proposal was adopted without enthusiasm. Some members of the commission firmly and unambiguously stated their view that EC interest in Bulgaria will wane considerably if the Socialists win the election. The BSP has discredited itself by the stance it adopted during the unsuccessful attempt to topple Soviet President Gorbachev.

The talks on Bulgarian and Romanian application for EC associate membership were due to start 4 September but were postponed.

Nevertheless, the talks may start soon. According to BTA, Frans Andriessen, deputy chairman of the EC Commission, stated in Brussels that he will make this proposal tomorrow [6 September] at the EC foreign ministers' meeting in Brussels.

According to Bulgarian diplomats in Brussels, during the last few weeks, despite the great satisfaction with the position adopted by President Zhelev during the Moscow coup, the conduct of the ruling party has cast a deep shadow on future cooperation between the EC countries and Bulgaria.

Envoy Refutes Newspaper Report on EC Talks

AU1109141191 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 6 Sep 91 p 1

[Open letter to the news media from Lea Koen, Bulgarian ambassador in Brussels and leader of the Mission of the Republic of Bulgaria to the EC, issued through the Press Center of the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs; date and place not given]

[Text] In connection with the article published in the 5 September issue of DEMOKRATSIYA, the mission of the Republic of Bulgaria to the EC states that journalist Stefana Gergova has arbitrarily and incorrectly made use of certain facts about the activities of the EC Commission and the European Parliament connected with the negotiations on signing a treaty of association between the EC and the Republic of Bulgaria. The only official document cited in the article is a communique of the EC Commission dated 5 August.

The facts are as follows:

The embassy received the report of Ms. Patricia Rawlings, a deputy of the European Parliament, in which she defends Bulgaria's request to be placed on an equal footing with Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia, offering as arguments the great democratic changes in Bulgaria and the immense efforts being made by the Bulgarian people along the road to democracy.

At the session that the EC Commission held on 4 September, the proposal to start preliminary talks on a treaty of associate membership was adopted without a single objection. To start the procedure, the EC Commission must obtain a mandate from the EC Council of Ministers to commence the preliminary talks.

None of the three diplomats accredited to the European Community, led by Lea Koen, ambassador and Bulgaria's accredited representative to the EC, has provided any information to the public that differs from the above.

Relations With Baltic Republics Reestablished

AU1209084691 Sofia BTA in English 0822 GMT 12 Sep 91

[From BTA review of Sofia press on 12 September]

[Text] Sofia, September 12 (BTA)—"DUMA," the daily of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), reports that protocols on reestablishment of diplomatic relations were signed late last night in Moscow by Mr. Viktor Vulkov, Bulgaria's foreign minister, and his Latvian and Estonian counterparts, Mr. Janis Jurkans and Mr. Lennart Meri. Mr. Vulkov and Mr. Algirdas Saudargas, the foreign minister of Lithuania, signed a protocol on the establishment of diplomatic relations with Lithuania, with which Bulgaria has never had diplomatic contacts.

Mr. Vulkov, who is attending the conference on the human dimension in Moscow, told BTA that Turkish Foreign Minister Safa Giray had suggested that the Movement for Rights and Freedoms, which unites some 130,000 Bulgarian citizens identifying themselves as Turks, should run on a separate ticket in the forthcoming elections. Mr. Vulkov, however, explained that this is against the Bulgarian law.

Foreign Economic Minister on Bilateral Ties

AU1209084391 Sofia BTA in English 0639 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] Sofia, September 11 (BTA)—Mr. Atanas Paparizov, Bulgaria's minister of foreign economic relations, is optimistic about the future of Bulgarian-Greek economic relations. Mr. Paparizov, who recently visited the Salonika Trade Fair, told the press today that he is pleased with the talks he held with Mr. Andreas Andrianopoulos, minister of industry, power engineering, technology and trade, and with Mr. Panayiotis Khatzinikolaou, minister of Macedonia and Thrace. Mr. Paparizov also met prominent representatives of the Greek business circles.

According to Mr. Paparizov, the Greek businessmen gave good marks to the 30 private Bulgarian companies which took part in the fair. A bureau of Greek exhibitors is expected to be opened in Sofia soon which will further promote the economic ties between the two countries. A seminar on the problems of the distribution of projects under the PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] programme will be held in the City of Plovdiv (Southern Bulgaria).

The chambers of commerce of the two countries are also willing to cooperate. New border crossings will be opened and the cross-border trade will improve.

Greece has fixed a higher import quota for Bulgarian ferrous metals.

"Bulgaria considers the U.S. its chief economic partner," Mr. Paparizov told the same news conference. Sofia and Washington will probably sign important agreements this month.

Appropriate forms of cooperation with the new economic structures in the Soviet Union and with the developing countries are also being considered.

The negotiations on Bulgaria's association with the European Community will continue.

Romania's Roman Arrives for 1-Day Official Visit

Prime Ministers Begin Talks

AU1209082391 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0800 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman arrived today on an official visit to Bulgaria. He was welcomed at Sofia Airport by Dimitur Popov, chairman of the Council of Ministers.

The government leaders of the two states opened official talks at the Boyana Residence in Sofia.

The Romanian guest will be received by President Zhelyu Zhelev. It is expected that a joint Bulgarian-Romanian declaration on good-neighborliness, friendship, and cooperation will be signed.

Statements on Pollution Made

AU1209112791 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Report by Maya Boneva on statements by Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman and Bulgarian Prime Minister Dimitur Popov on 12 Sep; place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] The official visit of Romania's prime minister, Petre Roman, to our country began today. Despite the fact that the visit is scheduled to be a brief one, we are looking forward to it with great expectations and special attention.

Our reporter Maya Boneva is covering the visit. What is the news?

[Boneva] There is only one news item, and I think it is very important. Only a few minutes after their meeting, the two prime ministers, Petre Roman and Dimitur Popov, declared their intention to become personal guarantors for the ecological problems in the Ruse-Giurgiu area. At this point I begin my report:

The opening of the Romanian-Bulgarian dialogue proceeded in an unusual manner. Immediately after their arrival at the official residence for the talks, the two prime ministers expressed their wish to make statements, which were addressed mainly to the citizens of Ruse, and to the Romanian and the Bulgarian public, of course. You can hear part of the statements:

[Begin Roman recording in Romanian, fading into Bulgarian translation] Stepping onto Bulgarian territory, and only a few minutes after the beginning of our talks, we feel obliged to state that the main topic on the agenda is the Ruse-Giurgiu problem. Being aware of my responsibility as prime minister and also as a human being, I would like to say that, even before the revolution, our lives and work were connected with environmental protection. For this reason, this problem is particularly important to me. I would also like to tell the citizens of Ruse, in particular, that we have never treated the ecological problems there lightly. As far as we are concerned, Romania and Bulgaria have both inherited a critical state of pollution from the totalitarian past. It is a situation for which we are not personally responsible, but for which we have to find a solution. In my opinion, we should not fight each other but, rather, work together. I repeat that, according to a joint decision that I and my Bulgarian colleague, Prime Minister Dimitur Popov, reached together a few minutes ago, each of us should deal personally with this problem in the near future.

In the sphere of our mutual relations as a whole, we are moving toward more up-to-date cooperation based on the realistic observance of our two countries' interests. One of these interests concerns the life of the citizens of Ruse, in particular. [end recording]

That was what Prime Minister Petre Roman had to say. Now we turn to Prime Minister Dimitur Popov's statement:

[Begin Popov recording in Bulgarian, a few words indistinct because of superimposed Romanian translation]

[Boneva] I will continue with a summary because of the bad recording, which is marred by the necessary simultaneous translation into Romanian. Mr. Popov stated as follows: I agree with Petre Roman that we are obliged to proceed with this work. This is our response to the requests of the Ruse and Giurgiu citizens. This response—which we should call prompt rather than spontaneous—to the two cities' claims represents an opening to our talks and to all coming decisions that we intend to adopt. I know Mr. Petre Roman and I can assure you that we will both accomplish our duties. He acknowledged with full understanding the complexity of the subject. Therefore, we just decided together, in realizing our responsibilities as the prime ministers of the two countries, that the first question to be discussed and decided upon should be the Ruse-Giurgiu issue, Mr. Dimitur Popov pointed out.

What is the important issue in this respect? In my opinion, the two countries' prime ministers are assuming the obligation of observing and promoting the activities of the two governments and the joint commissions composed of representatives from Bulgaria and Romania that are in charge of resolving this complicated problem.

We are obliged to do so, Prime Minister Popov said, and I am convinced that this is a firm commitment in connection with our response to the requests of the Ruse citizens submitted to us. [end recording]

Accord Reached on Environment

AU1209104791 Sofia BTA in English 1016 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] Sofia, September 12 (BTA)—Mr. Dimitur Popov, Bulgaria's prime minister, and his Romanian counterpart Mr. Petre Roman took minutes to reach agreement on the environmental problems of the Danube towns of Ruse, Bulgaria, and Giurgiu, Romania. The common understanding was achieved on the way from Sofia Airport to the residence where the official talks between the two prime ministers started a little while ago.

Mr. Roman arrived on a one-day visit here today at the invitation of Mr. Popov.

Mr. Popov and Mr. Roman told the press that they will monitor in person and help solve the environmental problems of the Ruse-Giurgiu area. The two premiers will also follow the work of the joint commission on the problems of pollution in the region.

The prime ministers hope that their intentions will allay the fears of the citizens of Ruse and Giurgiu. "Romania has never overlooked this problem and we honour our commitments. The new Governments of Bulgaria and Romania inherited many critical issues connected, among other things, with power-generation pollution. That is why we are not to be blamed," Mr. Roman said, addressing the citizens of Ruse.

The guest added that the two countries should struggle not against each other but to settle their common problems. Mr. Roman declared himself in favour of modern, vigorous, active and intelligent bilateral cooperation based on mutual respect for the interests of each country.

Macedonian Party Leader Stopped at Border

AU1209074691 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] The following incident was reported from the Bulgarian-Yugoslav border today:

This morning Iliya Ilievski, chairman of the Human Rights Party in Macedonia, was detained by the Yugoslav customs authorities, who tried to prevent him from crossing over to Bulgaria at the Novo Selo border checkpoint. Despite the fact that he produced all the necessary travel documents, Ilja Ilievski was told that he was not allowed to cross the border, following which he was deprived of his passport.

Ilievski was expected to depart for Moscow from Sofia, where he was planning to attend the Human Rights Conference.

Interviewed About Incident

AU1209113691 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network on Bulgarian 0900 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Telephone interview with Iliya Ilievski, chairman of the Macedonian Rights Party, in Strumitsa on 12 September—live or recorded, Ilievski statements in Macedonian]

[Text] [Announcer] Following yesterday's incident with Iliya Ilievski, chairman of the Macedonian Rights Party, who was deprived of his passport by the Yugoslav authorities at the Novo Selo border checkpoint and was prevented from crossing over into Bulgarian territory, we contacted him in Strumitsa by telephone. This is what he stated in a special interview for the Khorizont Program:

[Ilievski] In my opinion, yesterday's incident eloquently shows that our country, the Republic of Macedonia, is still a Stalinist state and is not free. President Kiro Gligorov declared after the election that Macedonia is free.

I took all measures to get back my passport and the permit that authorizes me to visit Bulgaria. This was an unlawful decision, a decision that precludes the right of complaint. I think that the right of free travel is a basic human right and that such a decision, which deprives one of even the right to complain, is incorrect.

[Announcer] We asked Mr. Ilievski whether he thinks the Federal Government in Belgrade is responsible for the incident or whether this was an action by the local Macedonian authorities in Skopje.

[Ilievski] The right of confiscating a passport is a prerogative of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Skopje, but the border authorities are connected with Belgrade. I very much suspect that the Yugoslav political police in Belgrade may be involved in this measure. It may also be a local action of Skopje, considering that I am well known for criticizing the new regime and that I plead for the restoration of a fully independent state of Macedonia, which should become a rule-of-law and a democratic state.

Retired Colonel Given 'Secret Mission to Moscow'

AU1209084991 Sofia BTA in English 0626 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] Sofia, September 11 (BTA)—A retired Bulgarian colonel was assigned a secret mission to Moscow in June, journalist Tenyu Stoyanov reports in "VEK 21." In today's issue of this weekly he insists that the mission be investigated in the context of the suspected Bulgarian involvement in the military coup in the USSR.

Mr. Stoyanov, who was leading a delegation to a meeting of anti-fascist veterans in Moscow, learnt that Colonel Arkadiy Nikolov (ret.), one of the members of the delegation, had a personal meeting with Marshal Dmitriy Yazov, then minister of defence of the USSR, and with top functionaries from the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party. Besides, without the knowledge and the consent of the delegation's head, the colonel met with the chairman of the Soviet Veterans Committee, Air Marshal Aleksandr Silantiev. Mr. Stoyanov does not know how the retired Bulgarian officer identified himself and what he said.

The colonel himself spoke about his meeting with Yazov and explained that he "had important talks with Soviet leaders and the results of his mission guarantee Bulgaria's national security." Apart from Mr. Stoyanov, that statement was also witnessed by Prof. Vasil Ivanov and Mr. Venko Krachev from the Bulgarian Anti-Fascists Union.

At the same time Colonel Nikolov told the Soviet newspaper "VETERAN" that in Bulgaria "neo-fascism is rearing its head, but we don't intend to surrender."

After the delegation returned from Moscow, Mr. Stoyanov contacted the bureau of the Central Council of the Union of Veterans from the Patriotic War and insisted that the colonel disclose the character of his "special secret mission." He flatly denied to do so and the bureau did not take a stand on the matter.

BSP Supports Cooperation with Yugoslav Republics

AU1209073991 Sofia BTA in English 0623 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] Sofia, September 11 (BTA)—The Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) sees the results of the referendum in Macedonia as a step towards the republic's greater independence, says a declaration of the Supreme Council and the parliamentary faction of the BSP. "Any forceful intervention aimed at retailoring the existing frontiers is inadmissible. It has been known for a long time that our party favours an equitable and mutually advantageous cooperation with all Yugoslav republics, including Macedonia," the declaration says.

"The BSP is for the peaceful settlement of the Yugoslav crisis. The leading tendencies in building a new Europe are different. Now frontiers, ideological and any other barriers on the old continent are giving way to the new efforts aimed at the promotion of universal human values and wide contacts in all spheres of social and economic life. The BSP is categorically opposed to any territorial claims to the Bulgarian state. At the same time, our opening to each other may help restore the common economic, cultural and spiritual space which developed naturally in the course of history in this part of the Balkans," the declaration says.

More on BSP Election Candidate Lists

AU1209081391 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] According to unofficial information from the plenum of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], which closed at approximately 0630, the BSP lists for the coming elections have been approved.

The lists in different constituencies are headed by Aleksandur Lilov, Georgi Pirinski, Klara Marinova, Elena Poptodorova, Yanaki Stoilov, and Aleksandur Tomov, while Andrey Lukanov is heading the list of nominees in two districts.

The participants in the BSP coalition are represented as nominees for the BSP ticket in various constituencies. Vladimir Tsankov, leader of the ERA-3, is included in the Vratsa Constituency list.

According to well-informed sources, ERA-3 joined the BSP coalition in the late afternoon of 10 September.

Anzhel Vagenshtayn, Dobrin Spasov, and Valeri Petrov have reportedly refused to be nominated. According to the same source, Anzhel Vagenshtayn has withdrawn his candidacy on the grounds of [words indistinct].

Daily Publishes SDS Election Platform

AU1209075891 Sofia BTA in English 0543 GMT 12 Sep 91

[From BTA review of Sofia press in Bulgarian on 13 September]

[Text] Sofia, September 11 (BTA)—Today the "DEMOKRATSIYA" daily publishes the election platform of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS). The platform is entitled "For a Reborn Bulgaria," with a subtitle: "Let Us All, You and I, Parents and Children, Lead a Normal Life in a Normal Country."

According to the platform, the mainstays of the future Bulgaria are the individual and the family. Private property should dominate in the economy of the country. This will be achieved through radical privatization and conditions will be created for the participation of wide strata of the Bulgarian people in the process of privatization. Land should be restored to its rightful owners and all administrative obstacles before the enforcement of the Land Law should be removed. The SDS declares itself for private agriculture and for the farm cooperative.

The SDS is for a progressive taxation of personal incomes and for tax concessions depending on the number of children in the family and for disabled people. The SDS proposes for the turnover tax to be substituted for the value added tax. The platform also envisages measures for stopping inflation.

According to the platform the SDS is the only political force capable of managing the foreign debt of the country. In order to revive the economy the SDS proposes to close down inefficient productions and enterprises preceded by the elaboration of branch and regional programmes for rechanneling the labour force.

The SDS is for a new labour legislation, for guaranteeing the participation of the workers in the management of enterprises, regardless of the form of ownership. The SDS platform proposes a number of ways for achieving a high material and intellectual standard of the Bulgarian family.

The platform pays special attention to the social insurance system. The SDS is for a modern social insurance system with funds independent of the state budget. Health care services will be free for pensioners, they will be paid from special funds for the working people and there will be a special fund for the unemployed. The platform envisages a rapid reform in health care and the broadening of the private sector in this field.

The SDS is for a new housing policy for guaranteeing housing for the socially disadvantaged. According to the platform, the state should guarantee free education, but this should not exclude the parallel existence of paid education. The press, the radio and the television should be free of any censorship and independent of the executive.

The SDS is for an independent foreign policy. Bulgaria should have steady positions in the Balkans, in Europe and in the world. The platform points out that Bulgaria's national security will be reliably guaranteed only in the presence of real democracy and prosperity to stop the depopulation of the country and put an end to ethnic tensions.

According to the SDS the Armed Forces should be non-partisan, the military doctrine strictly defensive, and armaments within the requirements of reasonable sufficiency. The police should be modern and humane and act in defence of human dignity.

"DEMOKRATSIYA" frontpages the claim by the state to the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) by which the minister of finance and Sofia Municipality request the court to rule that the building of the BSP headquarters in Sofia is state property.

"DEMOKRATSIYA" also frontpages the view of the National Coordinating Council of the SDS on the proposals for amendments to the Electoral Act submitted in parliament yesterday. The national council believes that the changes in the texts on the colour of the ballot papers are intended to cause a confusion in the registration and to have the elections postponed. The SDS is categorically opposed to such attempts and will use all lawful means to prevent the postponement of the elections, the national council states.

According to a publication in "DEMOKRATSIYA" the inflation in August has reached 7.5 per cent, food prices have risen 15.3 per cent, bread and bakery products are up 65.9 per cent, meat 22.6 per cent. Only the price of fresh vegetables is down by 33 per cent.

Central Electoral Commission Registers DPS

AU1209083691 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] The Central Electoral Commission adopted a decision on the registration of parties and coalitions today. The colors of the ballots were determined. The blue color and the name Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] are assigned to the coalition of the SDS-Movement, which is registered under number one in court and unites seven parties and movements.

The coalitions under the numbers two and four—namely, the SDS-Center and the SDS-Liberals, which submitted their documents for registration at a later date—have not been registered.

As Mrs. Veneta Minkova, deputy chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, announced, these coalitions have failed to submit alternative options for their name and for the color of their ballot, despite having been invited to do so on 8 September 1991.

They have been granted a three-day period within which they are entitled to file a complaint against the Central Electoral Commission's decision to the Supreme Court.

The Central Electoral Commission has registered the Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS], which will run in the election with a white ballot complemented by a pink stripe.

The red color is traditionally assigned to the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] election alliance, which lost one of its members today, the (?Bulgarian Radical Social Democratic Party), but won a new ally, the ERA-3.

The supporters of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union-United [BZNS-United] will vote with a white ballot complemented by two green and one orange stripes, while the Nikola Petkov BZNS will vote with a white ballot complemented by two blue stripes.

Court Denies Registration

AU1209083991 Sofia BTA in English 0654 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Excerpt] Sofia, September 11 (BTA)—[passage omitted] Today the Supreme Court sustained the decision of the Lower Sofia City Court and denied registration to Mr. Ahmed Dogan's Rights and Freedoms Party. The decision of the Supreme Court, which has immediate effect, says that the Rights and Freedoms Party is religious- and ethnic-based. The ruling proceeds from the understanding that such a party could achieve the domination of narrow religious or ethnic considerations in the state structures, thus undermining the democratic principles of the Constitution, the document says.

Today the Central Electoral Commission announced the parties' registration for the elections. It has decided to allow the Movement for Rights and Freedoms to take part in the elections. [passage omitted]

Monarchists To Appear on SDS Election Ticket

AU1109173591 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 6 Sep 91 p 2

[Report by Vanyo Stoilov: "The Monarchists Will Rely on the Blue Ballot in the Elections"]

[Text] The promonarchist Constitutional Union in Bulgaria will participate in the election with the blue ballot, its leader, Bishop Galaktion, stated. This came about after the union was accepted as an observer in the local Stara Zagora Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]. Everything indicates that Bishop Galaktion will be included on the regional SDS candidates' list, which will probably be headed by Prof. Elka Konstantinova.

A source close to the SDS claims that an agreement was reached not to discuss Bulgaria's form of rule up to and during the election because the main aim is to defeat the Reds. However, it was not specified whether the monarchists' presence will compensate for the absence of the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian National Agrarian Union from the ticket, which some people, out of habit, still refer to as "the united opposition ticket."

Stambolov Liberals' Pact With BSP Said Legal

AU1109172091 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 6 Sep 91 p 2

[Report by Vasil T. Vasilev]

[Text] A declaration disseminated by BTA on 4 September in which Mr. Atanas Stamenov disputes the activity of Mr. Khristo Atanasov in signing an election campaign alliance between the "Stefan Stambolov" People's Liberal Party and the Bulgarian Socialist Party has no legal validity.

In the period between 26 April 1990—the date of registration of the "Stefan Stambolov" People's Liberal Party—and 5 September 1991, no application was received at the Sofia City Court for changes in the party's leadership or statute. It is recorded in the court file that Mr. Khristo Ivanov Atanasov is the spokesman of the party's Coordinating Committee, and, according to the party statute, he is the only person who "represents the party as a whole in its relations with all state organs, other parties and organizations, and the mass media."

BNRP Joins European Nationalist Union

AU1109173891 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 6 Sep 91 p 2

[DUMA PRESS report]

[Text] The Bulgarian National Radical Party [BNRP] was recently accepted into the European Nationalist Union, the party's chairman, Ivan Georgiev, announced at a news conference on 5 September.

Having formed a union with the Bulgarian Christian Democratic Party, the BNRP hopes to cross the 4-percent barrier in the coming election.

The National Radicals accused the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] and the Union of Democratic Forces of information totalitarianism. However, the main brunt of their election campaign criticism will be directed against the BSP and the Fatherland Party of Labor [OPT]. In the opinion of Natasha Boykina, the Socialists have not used their majority in the legislature to resolve the ethnic problem. The OPT has been of service not only to the BSP but also to foreign intelligence services. Proof of this was the downfall of the Razgrad Republic and other such undertakings.

Status of Special Police Services Changes

AU1109152791 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 6 Sep 91 p 1

[DUMA PRESS report]

[Text] The Ministry of Internal Affairs announced on 5 September that, according to a government decision defining the ranks in services and post descriptions, the

sergeants of the Special Detachment for Combating Terrorism will now be called "commandos."

The Central Service for Combating Organized Crime [Tsentralnata sluzhba za borba s organiziranata prestupnost], the Operational and Technical Information Service [Sluzhbata za operativno-tekhnicheska informatsiya], the Communications Equipment Protection Service [Sluzhbata za zashtita na sredstvata za svruzka], and the Operational Detection Bureau [Buroto za operativno izdirvane] will receive the status of administrations [upravlenie] in the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The Coordination and Information Analysis Service [Sluzhbata za koordinatsiya i informatsionna analizna deynost] and the inspectorate received the same status in the Interior Ministry's central administration.

The Special Detachment for Combating Terrorism, the services for liaison and for operational and mobilization readiness [sluzhbite za svruzki i za operativna i mobilizatsionna gotovnost], the National INTERPOL Bureau, and the inspection service [revizionnata sluzhba] will all acquire the status of independent departments.

Defense Says 1992 Training Resources Limited

AU1109122691 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 5 Sep 91 pp 1, 3

[Report by Captain Krasen Buchkov: "On Eve of 1992 Training Year"]

[Excerpts] According to established tradition, the report "On the Results of Implementing the Tasks of Combat Readiness, Mobilization, and Operational and Combat Training of the Ground Forces during the 1991 Training Year," was distributed in advance by the Ministry of Defense to the staffs and units. [passage omitted]

Thus, at the meeting at which the annual report of the Ground Forces Command on the results of the 1991 training year were reported and the tasks for the 1992 year outlined, the participating officers from the staffs, units, and military training establishments could begin immediately with the general discussion. [passage omitted]

In his statement, Army General Yordan Mutafchiev, minister of defense, pointed out the realistic nature of most of the conclusions contained in the annual report. He stressed the need to bear in mind the limited quantity of fuels and lubricants while planning the 1992 training year. He also drew attention to the issue of combining elements of tactical-combat drill and use of materiel in the conduct of all planned training exercises in the units. The plans for combat readiness and mobilization must be updated by incorporating all new factors in the regulations. Cooperation between the military branches and between the units and the military commands must improve. Improving the structure of the training year will continue to improve the system of training the troops. Determining the stages of training will depend to a certain degree on the experience, skill, and ability of the unit commanders. The minister of defense expressed concern over the accidents that have occurred and the violations of discipline among the troops and said that the discipline issue remains one of the most important problems in the Army that must be resolved. He thanked the attending officers for their work during the year.

Afterward, Gen. Mutafchiev announced the names of the generals and the officers who have been promoted to new and high-ranking positions in the Ministry of Defense and the Ground Forces Command and introduced them to the officers, sergeants, and military employees who took part in the meeting. The introduction of the officers who have been appointed to new posts in the staffs started on 4 September and will continue on 5 September.

Dienstbier Meets With Yeltsin, Genscher in Moscow

LD1109211991 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 1600 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Report by Petr Voldan]

[Excerpts] Jiri Dienstbier, federal deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, returned from a visit to Tallinn and Moscow late this afternoon. Our correspondent Petr Voldan was among the group of journalists who accompanied him. He has more details:

[Voldan] [passage omitted] Bilateral talks with the representatives of other delegations was an important part of Jiri Dienstbier's visit to Moscow. Today we were mainly interested in his meeting with German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher. Jiri Dienstbier characterized it as follows:

[Begin Dienstbier recording] We discussed bilateral issues and the preparation of a Czechoslovak-German treaty, which is continuing. The Czechoslovak Government will discuss it tomorrow and the German Government within the next few days. We then went on to talk about our association agreements with the EC. Minister Genscher is also very dissatisfied with what happened last week, when the Council of Ministers were unable to give a broader mandate to the commission that negotiates the association issue. On the other hand, he believes, like all the others with whom I have had discussions, that the matter will be resolved relatively quickly. We then talked in great detail about the situation in Yugoslavia and the possibilities of resolving it, which of course, as you all know, is a very complicated matter. [end recording]

[Voldan] I would only like to recall one other item from this morning's part of our foreign minister's visit to Moscow. It was his attendance at the reception of diplomatic representatives by Russian President Boris Yeltsin. Its course and organization provoked a certain amount of confusion among the leaders of the diplomatic missions. They took their seats, for instance, in one of the halls of the Russian White House in ranks, like in a school, while Boris Yeltsin stood behind a desk with a microphone. From what he said, I perhaps should report only that he recalled the days of the attempted coup and his role in them, the problems of observing human rights, both in Russia and the Union, and certain aspects of the attempt by Communist ideology to lead the country toward a bright future, as he called the past years.

Joint Communique Issued With Poland

LD1209004991 Prague CTK in English 1747 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Prague Sept 11 (CTK)—Poland and Czechoslovakia are in favour of cooperation between the West, the Soviet Union and three East European countries, linked with economic aid to the Soviet Union, says a communique issued at the end of a one-day visit here by Polish Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz today.

According to the communique, the West would be expected to finance exports of East European goods to the Soviet Union by direct payment to the three countries (Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary) and not by granting credits to the Soviet Union.

At a press conference, Balcerowicz said Poland succeeded in reducing the 12-per cent inflation rate in January to almost zero in July. He praised Czechoslovakia's macro-economic policy, including its strict wage policy. Czechoslovak Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus said like Poland Czechoslovakia also has taxes restricting the growth of wages but uses overall macro-economic policy to slow down the growth of wages.

Balcerowicz did not expect the influx of foreign capital to threaten the rising middle class in Poland in any way. "We ought to be pleased at the entry of foreign capital into our economy but we must also see to it that it is channelled to specific branches. A fragile balance must be found between the aim of achieving a maximum foreign capital influx and preventing its domination", he said.

Miklosko on Republic Relations, SNR Presidium

AU1109123391 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 9 Sep 91 p 1

[Interview with Slovak National Council Chairman Frantisek Miklosko by Ivan Rajecky; place and date not given: "I Believe the Coalition Will Hold Firm"]

[Text] A lot of meetings and negotiations were held during the past week, especially in Bratislava. President Havel held talks with the political parties and movements, and the Slovak National Council [SNR] Presidium held talks with its Czech partner. We asked Frantisek Miklosko the following questions:

[Rajecky] Mr. Chairman, you have just gone through a packed week. How do you view the current situation in the SNR Presidium?

[Miklosko] I have two views. Presidential Adviser Martin Butora expressed one view very well when he said that, at a time when problems are being solved in the rest of the world by violence and shooting, we are still faithful to political negotiations; this is a very fundamental point. My second view is that it is not—and will not be—easy to resolve our current problems. However, we have to deal with the issues openly, without emotion, and in a calm and matter-of-fact manner.

[Rajecky] What is your opinion of the Public Against Violence [VPN] movement's point of view and of its understanding of the federation?

[Miklosko] The Public Against Violence movement stated in its program that the federation is formed from

below; it must stand by this. This is its fundamental view of the state. It is made up of the Czech and Slovak Republics. However, it is a different view altogether if we say that the basis for the state is a federation—that is, a central body—that gives some authority to the republics! I think that, at the moment, neither the VPN nor the other political parties and movements can make concessions on what we are demanding.

[Rajecky] Were there not mixed feelings about the conclusion of the talks between the SNR and the Czech National Council [CNR] presidia?

[Miklosko] Why? We could have concluded our talks without issuing a communique. Political will and the endeavor to define where we want to go, where possible concessions can be made, and who wants to reach a conclusion were the main things here. Our talks were important because we clarified our mutual positions even more. Now we know where we are. We have held talks several times, but we have never been so open with each other. There will be other talks, including individual ones. However, there must be a new view of the republic at the end of them.

[Rajecky] Until now only the Slovak National Party had a mandate from its electors to strive for an independent Slovak state. Does it not seem to you that others, for example, the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS], are joining them?

[Miklosko] The HZDS is being very cautious; it does not talk completely about a Slovak state. It more or less talks about a confederation. Another aspect of the matter is that establishing a confederation requires preliminary negotiations with possible partners. I see shortcomings in their proposal. Especially if they have not even held preliminary negotiations with representatives from the Czech political scene on whether they are willing to enter into a possible confederation. All Slovakia will wait for a confederation in vain if it does not have a partner.

[Rajecky] Could the situation that has arisen in the SNR Presidium lead to repeated demands for its reconstruction?

[Miklosko] I expect changes to be made in the SNR Presidium at the next plenum. However, I do not think this should signify the collapse of the Presidium or of the legislature. It is not necessary to dramatize the issue. I still believe the current coalition will hold firm and that democracy will be maintained in Slovakia through it.

[Rajecky] What did you say to Mrs. Buresova [CNR chairwoman] when you said goodbye to her?

[Miklosko] Our mutual relationship is very friendly. We said that no matter what happens in the future, we will be open with each other.

SDL Issues Statement on Bratislava Talks

AU1109145291 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 9 Sep 91 p 2

[Statement issued by the Party of the Democratic Left Central Executive Committee and Party of the Democratic Left Deputies' Clubs in the Slovak National Council and the Federal Assembly following the talks between the Slovak National Council and Czech National Council presidia in Bratislava on 5 and 6 September: "A Process Proceeding From the Republics' Sovereignty"]

[Text] From the very beginning, the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL] has regarded adherence to constitutional principles as one of the conditions for creating a new constitutional system. It considers this to be a guarantee of a course of action that will make it possible to remove the possible obstacles presented by today's legal situation, obstacles that could prevent the adoption of the constitutions. Therefore, we support the idea of amending constitutional law No. 143/1968 on the Czechoslovak Federation by including the more recent changes and supplements.

We appreciate the fact that the first official exchange of views on the contents and nature of the treaty has taken place. This treaty should form the basis for drafting the joint state's constitution and its legal regime. However, in this essential issue—as in the jurisdiction sphere—the expected progress was not made.

This is due to the variety and contradictory nature of opinions on constitutional and legal issues within the Slovak National Council Presidium. Ideological disagreements within the main coalition political forces and an unwillingness to create scope in the search for joint starting points weaken the possibility of qualified preparations for negotiations with Czech representatives. This was also reflected in the outcome of the joint talks.

As opposed to some other parties and movements, the SDL has not changed its point of view regarding constitutional and legal issues. It perceives federalism as a process proceeding from the republics' original sovereignty. A new quality cannot be achieved for the joint state by "awarding" jurisdiction to the republics; it can only be achieved by natural means—by delegating jurisdiction from the republics to the joint state. No concessions can be made here.

VPN Slovak Council Adopts Resolution

AU1109140591 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 9 Sep 91 p 2

["Resolution Adopted by the Public Against Violence Movement Slovak Council Session" issued by the Public Against Violence Movement Press Center in Bratislava on 7 September]

[Text] The Public Against Violence [VPN] movement Slovak Council held a regular session in Bratislava on 7

September. The session was of a working nature and, apart from the preparations for the VPN nationwide assembly, dealt with the current political situation in Slovakia. In connection with this, the VPN Slovak Council adopted the following resolution:

1. The VPN Slovak Council insists upon a constitutional course of action in concluding a treaty between the Slovak and Czech Republics and in adopting the Slovak, Czech, and CSFR Constitutions. In accordance with this constitutional course of action, the treaty between the Slovak National Council [SNR] and the Czech National Council [CNR] will create a framework for drafting all three constitutions. In the event that a treaty is not concluded, the VPN Slovak Council considers the declaration of a referendum to be the next constitutional step. It is necessary for the Federal Assembly to quickly adopt the legislation essential for this.

The VPN Slovak Council approves of the course of action taken by the VPN Presidium in continuing its coalition cooperation with the Christian Democratic Movement, the Democratic Party, and the Hungarian Independent Initiative. Scope for coalition cooperation, which the VPN does not intend to exceed, is provided by adherence to the coalition agreements and the government program. That is, economic transformation and a constitutional approach in adopting the treaty between the SNR and the CNR and the Slovak, Czech, and CSFR Constitutions.

2. The VPN Slovak Council considers the issue of debolshevization to be of vital importance for our society. This issue should not be associated with former membership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia or any other party, but with bolshevist methods that mainly manifest themselves in the renewal of the atmosphere of terror, in the abuse of economic transformation relations for the illegal acquisition of wealth, and in making former VPN activists redundant. The mafias in the economic and social spheres are still managing to evade the attention of state bodies. This leads to an increase in the citizens' mistrust of the purpose of the 1989 revolution. The VPN Slovak Council draws the attention of, first and foremost, ministers in both governments and other executive organs to this situation and asks them to deal seriously with it.

Czech Communists Warn of Right-Wing Monopoly

AU1109090891 Prague CTK in English 1703 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Text] Nymburk, Central Bohemia, Sept 7 (CTK)—The right wing in Czechoslovakia is narrowing the political base of decision making to the point where the emergence of a new "state party", in which the government and party are merged as they were under the old regime, is a real threat, Jiri Svoboda, chairman of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM) said today.

Speaking at the sixth session of the KSCM Central Committee in Nymburk, about 40 kilometers east of Prague, Svoboda said the question of Czechoslovakia's membership in any military alliance is too important to be decided without hearing the opinion of the Czechoslovak population. (The attempted coup against Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev has led some politicians to call for Czechoslovakia to apply as soon as possible for membership in NATO - Ed.)

While denouncing campaigns against the legally elected constitutional officials of Czechoslovakia, including President Vaclav Havel, Svoboda said Havel should consider to what extent the government's chosen strategy of economic reform coincides with his own ideas and ideals as expressed in his literary works over the years.

1992 will be a decisive year for the European left, Svoboda said. "We cannot underestimate or deny the influence of events in the Soviet Union on our party and on the communist movement in this country". But the fall of Soviet-style bureaucratic socialism does not translate into a condemnation of the communist and socialist movements in general, he said.

"We acquired our voters above all through decency, matter-of-factness and rationality", Svoboda said, pointing out the necessity of maintaining these qualities in future. "The fundamental task for all constructive political forces in our country is to hasten the stabilization of democratic evolution in (Czechoslovak) society", he added.

Though supportive of a plurality of views within the KSCM, Svoboda criticized the activities of Michal Kraus of the party's "Democratic Left" faction. Svoboda described Kraus as an insincere person, and said Kraus has tried to undermine him several times in recent months.

[Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 9 September on page 2 in a similar report adds: "Numerous participants in the discussion described the current name, the Federation of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia and the Party of Democratic Left, as invalid and asked that the change of name be settled by means of a referendum among the members of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia and the Party of Democratic Left by the end of the year at the latest." A motion for a vote of no confidence "was settled by the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia Central Committee members who expressed in their vote confidence in the current Executive Committee and in the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia chairman."]

Democratic Left's Kraus Criticizes KSCM Plenum

AU1109165391 Prague CESKE A MORAVSKOSLEZSKE ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 10 Sep 91 p 2

["(iko)"-signed report: "Advanced Schizophrenia"]

[Text] Prague—Michal Kraus, spokesman and representative of the Democratic Left (DL), described the 7 September Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia [KSCM] Central Committee plenary session in Nymburk as a victory for the orthodox communists in the party and as advanced schizophrenia. Apparently, the only positive outcome is the agreement to hold a referendum on the party name. Postponing the congress until next year is a mistake, and the KSCM leadership is obviously afraid, even though it held a vote of confidence in the Central Committee and the chairman. However, this vote degenerated into theater supported by members of the party apparatuses. There are now officially some seven ideological platforms within the KSCM; the strongest of these is the DL. The disputes are not, allegedly, personal, but systemic. A republic-wide meeting involving their supporters will be held in Prague on 21 September and, according to Kraus, it cannot be discounted that this meeting will turn into the constituent congress of a new left-wing party. It would like to defend the rights of those who would be threatened by the propertied and the powerful in even the most democratic society. Why is the DL still in the KSCM? "It does not want to abandon the rank and file party members who for years were just straw men for the leadership." To put it simply, the most numerous party membership base in the entire federation is up for grabs.

HSD-SMS Splits; Opposition Leaders Expelled

AU1109131891 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 9 Sep 91 p 2

["(jh)"-signed report: "The Split Has Become More Serious"]

[Text] Brno—At its extraordinary meeting on the night of 6 September, the Land Council of the Movement for Self-Governing Democracy - Society for Moravia and Silesia [HSD-SMS] convened a HSD-SMS Congress that will meet in Olomouc on 6 October. The Council reacted to the division in its ranks by expelling five members of the Executive Committee of the opposing group in the HSD-SMS and suspending another six officials.

Antonin Saitz, former deputy chairman, reacted to the council's decision by saying, "This expulsion is a violation of the Movement's statutes, and we therefore consider it invalid. We are not leaving the HSD-SMS, but we are distancing ourselves from the movement's leadership that agreed to collaborate with Prime Minister Petr Pithart for the promise of job-positions in the Land Office. This is the reason why we have established a new HSD-SMS platform called the Moravian Movement."

In a declaration issued by members of the Executive Committee in Sumperk on 7 September, which was accepted by more than 10 HSD-SMS regional organizations, the new platform supports the movement's original program—a tripartite constitutional setup. The Moravian-Silesian Movement distances itself from the secret financial operations of the HSD-SMS leadership and the HSD-SMS Coordinating Center in Brno and draws attention to the fact that the July congress resolution on screening has not been implemented. The seat of the new platform is the HSD-SMS District Secretariat in Kromeriz.

Meciar Explains Cancellation of Talks With KDH

AU1109143291 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 7 Sep 91 p 2

["am"-signed report: "The Meeting of the HZDS and the KDH Did Not Take Place"]

[Text] Bratislava—Talks between the Movement for Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] and the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] representatives were supposed to have taken place in Bratislava yesterday. They did not. Why?

The situation has been explained to journalists by V. Meciar:

"In view of today's declaration by the KDH, we ourselves apologized and asked that the meeting be postponed. Until now, Dr. Jan Carnogursky has always said that in the event of a referendum, they would vote for breaking up the state. As he was leaving the president, he declared that the referendum is a possibility. It is a new factor, and we must come to terms with it because the KDH votes in the Federal Assembly will probably make the adoption of the referendum possible. Moreover, he unequivocally defined federation as a state form of the constitutional arrangement."

M. Knazko added that the KDH has argued for signing the state treaty, and "today they agreed that a deal would be made between the national councils, even prior to the adoption of the constitution. It is clearly against what we have understood to be their intentions."

Army Troop, Equipment Reductions Previewed

AU1109152891 Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 7 Sep 91 p 4

[CTK report: "Reductions in the Strength of the Czechoslovak Army"]

[Text] Tabor—The arsenal of the Western Military Circuit [ZVO] will gradually be reduced by two-thirds of the tanks, one-half of the combat vehicles, three-quarters of the cannons, rocket launchers, and mine throwers, and two-fifth of the armored transports. At the same time, in connection with the redeployment of troops from Bohemia to Slovakia and the planned establishment of the Center command in Olomouc, the strength of personnel in the ZVO is being reduced to one-third of the present number of conscripts, professional officers, and civilian employees. This information was provided by the Tabor ZVO commander, Lieutenant General V. Grohman. By the end of this October, the motorized

infantry regiments in Klatovy, Karlovy Vary, Tachov, Cesky Krumlov, Uherske Hradiste, Cheb, Vysocany, Prachatice, and some other garrisons will be dissolved. Moreover, some military objects are being transferred to civilian use. Despite all the current changes in the Army, the training must go on. It has been shortened in comparison with the past—for example, it has been shortened from 28 days to 12 for men in reserves. As the ZVO commander reported, there are problems with theft of equipment, fuel, and unfortunately, weapons.

FIS Deputy Director Designate Suspended

AU1109113391 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 7 Sep 91 p 1

["(tln)"-signed report: "The Transgressors Spoke With the President"]

[Excerpts] "On 5 September, Jiri Novotny, Federal Security and Information Service [FIS] director, suspended Jaroslav Basta, an FIS officer, and two other members of staff for infringing upon the FIS law and other legal regulations," declares a statement issued by CTK shortly after midday yesterday. It continues: "The reason for this measure is the suspicion that on 3 September, during a private visit to the president of the Republic, they incorrectly—and, moreover, untruthfully—reported on matters connected with service in the FIS." A few weeks ago, Jaroslav Basta was nominated by the Czech Government for the post of FIS deputy director.

Director Novotny's office referred us to FIS Spokesman Frantisek Starek. He refused to say anything, apart from what was in the official statement. The statement reveals that the members of staff who visited the president of the Republic were suspended from duty only temporarily. [passage omitted]

"If I and my colleagues are being spoken of in the CTK report in connection with infringing upon regulations and possible criminal acts, I consider this to be an infringement upon the presumption of innocence," said the FIS Deputy Director designate Basta, now suspended, to our reporter. "I did not want to talk about the issue, but now I think it is necessary."

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] Why did you visit the president?

[Basta] On 14 August, I was nominated for the post of FIS deputy director. So far, and at variance with the law, I have not been appointed. However, that is not important. First and foremost, I wanted to point out to President Havel that the current FIS passiveness on certain issues almost borders on an infringement of the law. Moreover, I am convinced that the service had information at its disposal that, had it been professionally evaluated, would have averted the failure of certain operations carried out by other armed units.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] Do you think the security service's leadership bears responsibility for this?

[Basta] Deputy Jiri Novotny was appointed temporarily. A person appointed temporarily always has a tendency to proceed in a buck-passing manner and to avoid problems. There is a danger—and this is the main thing—that, thanks to laws full of holes and the security service's corresponding passive activity, this country could find itself in a very non-European situation within a few years.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] What did you discuss with the president?

[Basta] I would say that our conversation contained very serious criticism of the FIS work and its leadership. This was a situation in which, thanks to the inactivity of the legal supervisory body (a Federal Assembly commission), I considered a visit to the president as virtually the only way to give an effective warning.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] How were you suspended?

[Basta] All three of us were summoned to Director Novotny on Thursday. He asked each of us individually to prepare a service report on our talks with the head of state. I refused and said that we could not do this without the president's knowledge. We were questioned by inspectors following an order from the director. We again refused to say anything, and I was later suspended temporarily. The suspension order does not conform to all the requirements (for example, it was not classified as secret). Therefore, I do not feel myself bound by any secrecy in this issue.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] Do you think the suspension is unjustified?

[Basta] The fact that I am discussing the entire affair publicly will obviously be deemed by the director as another infringement of the regulations. However, if the security service is to be disciplined by such steps, I do not understand why so many reforms were passed after the revolution. Like everyone else, we could perhaps have been mistaken in what we said to the president. However, for once, he obtained information from the "other side," and it is not impossible that some people are not happy about this.

Ministry Says SFRY Arms Airlift Rumors False

LD1209083391 Budapest MTI in English 0619 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] Budapest, September 12 (MTI)—The allegations of the Yugoslav Federal National Defence Ministry, whereby weapons are being air-lifted to Croatia with the knowledge of the Hungarian Government, and that Hungarian military officers had had talks in Zagreb with Croatian Interior Ministry officials, were termed as false by the spokesman of the Hungarian Ministry of Defence on Thursday morning. Colonel Gyorgy Keleti, the spokesman of the Ministry, made the remarks in a telephone interview with Hungarian radio, aired on Thursday morning. Colonel Keleti said the leadership of the Hungarian Army, in accordance with orders from the government, takes great pains to avoid any action that could be termed as interference in the Yugoslav internal affairs.

The commentator of Hungarian radio notes that both the Hungarian and the Yugoslav public were reassured when the prime ministers of the two countries, Jozsef Antall and Ante Markovic, recently stated, in the course of their friendly meeting, that both sides should refrain from accusations, and should enter into negotiations. In spite of this, the national defence ministry of Belgrade on Wednesday night published a statement containing serious charges. In essence, it accuses the Hungarian Government of providing military assistance to Croatia. The Yugoslav Federal national Defence Ministry alleges that Croatia has, since the end of August, continuously been delivering weapons on board re-fitted agricultural aircraft, from Nagykanizsa (southern Hungary) to Varazdin in Yugoslavia. The official communique accuses the Hungarian Government of having knowledge of the air-lift. The Yugoslav national defence ministry brings this up as explanation for the fact that one of the Hungarian Air Defence troops was deployed near Villany, directly near the Yugoslav border, at the end of August. According to the communique, members of the Hungarian Armed Forces have illegally crossed over into Yugoslav areas on several occasions. They also claim to have information about a military vehicle which took two Hungarian officers to Croatia on August 24, where they were met by members of the Zagreb Ministry of the Interior. With respect to the arms deliveries, the Belgrade Ministry of National Defence states that the air-lift consists of some 20 AN-type aircraft, and, according to the Belgrade version, Yugoslavia has many facts to underline the operation of these.

In the telephone interview with Hungarian radio on Thursday, Colonel Gyorgy Keleti, spokesman of the Ministry of Defence, said:

"We learned about this communique, issued late on Wednesday evening, from news agency reports. Naturally, the leaders of the Ministry immediately began to examine the text of the communique in detail. They stated that all measures which the government has taken with respect to following the events in Yugoslavia, and the conduct of the Hungarian Armed Forces, were fully observed by the Hungarian Army. This means that we have taken great pains to avoid even the semblence of interference in the Yugoslav events with any means from the part of the Army.

"We informed the Hungarian public, and all other parties that were interested, through the media that we had reinforced our radio-locator system in the vicinity of the Yugoslav border, in the interest of protecting the Hungarian air space. This has taken place, several locating stations were deployed, but not directly on the border, only in its vicinity, in order to intensify the spotting of low-flying targets. At the same time, we also said the Hungarian Army will begin patrolling activity near the Yugoslav border, with appropriate means and forces, if necessary, with aircraft and helicopters, along the Hungarian area. This, however, takes place only in case any aerial target approaches the border of the Republic of Hungary in an extent which could possibly result in the violation of the country's air space.

"We have no information that a Hungarian helicopter or any other Hungarian military aircraft had violated the state border towards Yugoslavia, I can state, with full responsibility, that no such event occurred. Hungarian officers, did not cross the Hungarian-Yugoslavian border with service orders either with an army vehicle or without one, as is mentioned by the Yugoslavian communique.

"We are not aware that any aircraft that did not have the appropriate permits both from the Hungarian and the Yugoslav air control services had crossed over the Yugoslav-Hungarian border, with the exception of the military aircraft which violated the air space of the Republic of Hungary from the Yugoslav side," Colonel Gyorgy Keleti, spokesman of the Hungarian Ministry of Defence, said on Hungarian radio on Thursday morning.

Antall, Mitterrand Discuss EC Membership Problem

LD1109221391 Budapest MTI in English 1950 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Paris, September 11 (MTI)—'President Francois Mitterrand assured me that they would soon find a solution to the association of Hungary and the other countries concerned with the European Communities, and I trust his word', Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall stated in Paris on Wednesday evening following his discussion with Francois Mitterrand after the signing of the Hungarian-French treaty of friendship and concord.

During the talks, and also in his brief speech given at the signing ceremony, the Hungarian prime minister said that a 'yes' from Paris to the EC association agreement with Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland must merely be stalled by misunderstandings. He expressed the hope

that France, which stood on Hungary's side even before, will offer its help in clarifying the misunderstandings and finding a solution.

Francois Mitterrand emphasized Paris' readiness for this at the talks. On facing the press this afternoon, he also spoke optimistically about the possibility of clarifying the misunderstandings and concluding the association agreement as soon as possible.

In his speech at the signing of the Hungarian-French treaty of friendship and concord, the French head of state pointed out that the French people show great interest in the new Hungary which they consider to be an open and interesting country.

'The French also have to recognize that the two countries' friendship lies in their interests—and they do so, indeed', he said. With regard to the treaty, President Mitterrand stressed that the road had opened up to the continued intensification and improvement of bilateral links.

He thanked Jozsef Antall for the major contribution he had made first as an opposition leader and then as prime minister to the consolidation and incessant expansion of bilateral relations.

In his reply, Jozsef Antall termed it as a memorable event that the new treaty, unprecedented in the history of the two countries' relationship, was signed by representatives from the free, independent Hungary at the office of the president of the French Republic.

There were periods in history when the French and the Hungarians stood at different sides, but even in these moments there were things to link them, the Hungarian prime minister stressed, adding that the common objectives embodied the desire for freedom and humanism.

Antall pointed out that the signing of the treaty was the manifestation of Hungary's many-sided foreign policy. He expressed his thanks for the document indicating the importance of the national minority rights. President Mitterrand has from the beginning raised his voice in defence of the rights of the national minorities, and this is particularly important to Hungary, he said.

As Jozsef Antall put it, the treaty assesses the principles of friendly relations between Hungary and France and, beyond this, expresses France's support towards Hungary's efforts to become an associated member, later a fully-fledged member, of the EC. 'I am certain that France will take our side in settling the questions of dispute', Antall said.

The Hungarian prime minister attended the evening reception given by Jacques Chirac, president of the RPR [Rally for the Republic Party], in honour of the delegates to the Conference of the European Democratic Union, and then the dinner he hosted for the heads of the delegations. The dinner was attended by the leaders of the Hungarian parties belonging to the Union: Jozsef Torgyan, president of the independent smallholders' party, and Laszlo Surjan, president of the Christian Democratic People's Party.

On Wednesday evening, Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky met senior French politicians at a friendly dinner at the Hungarian Embassy in Paris.

Friendship, Concord Treaty Signed

LD1109229491 Budapest MTI in English 1807 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Paris, September 11 (MTI)—A Hungarian-French treaty of friendship and concord, the first such agreement in the history of the two countries relationship, was signed by Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky and his French counterpart Roland Dumas in Paris on Wednesday.

Also present at the signing ceremony were Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall and French President Francois Mitterrand.

The main objective of the treaty is to assess the principles of friendly relations between the two countries. No full text has been released as yet because it will first have to be submitted to both countries' legislative bodies for ratification.

The treaty is in many aspects similar to the agreement concluded by Paris with Poland as the first among former socialist countries.

The foreign ministers of Hungary and France made a preliminary agreement on the preparation of the treaty in spring 1991.

The treaty sums up the principles of the system of politcal relations between the two countries, envisaging regular high-level consultations and also irregular ones if the need arises. A significant moment is marked by the title of the treaty itself, featuring the word 'concord', in fact, symbolizing that the relationship of the two states is to be formed by both capitals at the same time.

An interesting point in the treaty is that it stipulates the cooperation of the two countries in minority issues.

Another clause of great importance is the one expressing France's support towards Hungary's efforts to become an associated member, later a fully-fledged member of the EC. At the latest ministerial meeting of the EC, it was, in fact, the French position that put an obstacle in the way of concluding an agreement on the associated membership of Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland. The Hungarian prime minister and the French president discussed the issue at their current meeting in Paris and the French side promised to promote a quick solution suitable for all sides.

Hungary has already signed a similar treaty with Italy and talks on the issue are underway with several other states.

France is currently negotiating the conclusion of a new friendship treaty with Czechoslovakia and Romania.

Official Explains Problems in Japan, EC Talks

AU1109124691 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 10 Sep 91 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Istvan Major, deputy state secretary at the Ministry of International Economic Relations, by Zsuzsa Gal; place and date not given: "Unexpected Obstacles"]

[Text] Otherwise successful Hungarian economic diplomacy suffered two setbacks last weekend. The fact that the agreement on investment protection cannot be signed came to light during our prime minister's visit in Tokyo. In Brussels, the French veto prevented discussion of agricultural trade in our negotiations on joining the EC. We asked Istvan Major to explain his ministry's views on these two issues:

[Gal] What is in the background of the Tokyo fiasco?

[Major] Agreements on investment protection are useful conditions of foreign investment, but they are not essential. For example, U.S. enterprises have already invested nearly $1 billion in Hungary, although there is no investment protection agreement between the two countries. There is a fundamental difference of concepts between the Hungarian and Japanese positions. In fact, Japan wants to make Hungary choose between extremes, that is, either Japan or Europe. We are in the process of setting up some kind of arrangement on investments in the framework of our association agreement with the EC, while Tokyo's request is that Japanese enterprises should enjoy all advantages of this agreement—no matter what the actual contents will be.

[Gal] It appears from the news that the prime minister's visit was not properly prepared by experts. Preparation by experts is usually aimed at preventing the basic differences of opinion from coming to light at high level negotiations....

[Major] That is true, but the high-level political negotiators can overrule the experts' viewpoints. An agreement on regulating foreign investments between the EC and Hungary, hopefully to be signed in the near future, might be the key to the solution, and the Hungarian and Japanese sides can again assess their stances in the knowledge of this agreement. For my part, I hope that our Japanese friends will realize that our preferential agreement with the EC constitutes a legal exception to the most favored treatment that they requested.

[Gal] On the other hand, the French veto frustrated a Hungarian plan in Brussels. What are the consequences of this veto?

[Major] Hopefully, the only consequence will be some delay in the current negotiations. Incidentally, our negotiations in Brussels had a positive side at least as important as its negative side, namely that 11 member states voted in our favor and one voted against. In other words, all countries but one subordinated their agricultural interests to the support for Eastern Europe's consolidation.

[Gal] What is Hungarian economic diplomacy's next step?

[Major] Jozsef Antall will travel to Paris on Wednesday, 11 September, and this visit will provide an opportunity to expound the Hungarian negotiating position on a high political level. Although, according to EC rules, the unified will of the member states is needed to make a decision, the forthcoming summit might provide an opportunity for the EC to revise its position.

[Gal] After these events, will it be possible to hold the negotiating round at the end of September as planned?

[Major] In this situation, the Hungarian government will have to decide whether it is worth negotiating on other issues if the agricultural issues cannot be on the agenda.

Torgyan Calls for Revision of Trianon Peace Order

AU1109112691 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 9 Sep 91 pp 1, 4

[Report by correspondent Gyorgy Andras Lengyel: "The FKgP Rally Ended in Scandal—Torgyan on the New Trianon Peace Order"]

[Text] Given the fact that the Trianon peace order has collapsed, the officials in charge of formulating Hungarian foreign policy should initiate talks with neighboring countries to create a new peace order that would guarantee the peaceful coexistence of the peoples in this region for centuries to come—Jozsef Torgyan, chairman of the Independent Smallholders' Party [FKgP], said at a rally in Szeged on 7 September. Jozsef Torgyan called its party a radical conservative force whose goal is to carry out the still unfulfilled change in the regime through the active participation of millions of poor people. The FKgP will firmly represent this position at the upcoming coalition talks. The 1,600 people present at the rally, held in the Sports Palace in Szeged on 7 September, greeted Jozsef Torgyan with standing ovations. The two hour long and exclusively high-pitched Torgyan speech was greeted with standing ovations by the audience. The popular leader spoke about the repulsive attitude of the communist nomenklatura trying to preserve its power, the unacceptable privatization law, the intolerable poverty, and the intolerable situation of the poor and of the working class; Torgyan promised tax reductions for entrepreneurs and an increase in the standard of living for the poor, naturally by counting on the expected advance of his party at the coalition talks....

However, the mood really flared up when Jozsef Torgyan demanded that the Trianon agreement should be put back on the agenda. The following is a direct quotation:

"The Trianon peace order has collapsed, but we were not the ones who broke it up: The guns are roaring along our borders. Obviously, we must think of creating a new Trianon peace order. Therefore, if once we want to think of the future of the peoples living in this region responsibly, we must examine the possibility of creating a new peace order to replace the one that has collapsed, a new peace order that will lead to a really secure peace order for the peoples living in this region." Jozsef Torgyan repeatedly stressed that he did not mean a revision here, but that Hungarian foreign policy offered a new regulation to be discussed with the neighboring countries. Besides, in his speech, Jozsef Torgyan repeatedly demanded the setting up of memorials for the victims of 1956, but he did not utter a single word about the leftist and liberal nature of the 1956 revolution.

The rally ended with a scandal. Andras Siklosi, one of the FKgP leaders in Szeged, stepped on the podium after Torgyan's speech and crossly abused [Prime Minister] Jozsef Antall.

A fight broke out on the podium, the microphones were cut off, and later Jozsef Torgyan publicly apologized and said that he distanced himself from his party's extremist elements. At the news conference preceding the rally, Jozsef Torgyan did not defend Istvan Csurka's extremist views and, in connection with [MDF Faction Leader] Imre Konya's scandalous declarations, Jozsef Torgyan said that, in his view, no democracy could function without a really free press.

Kozakiewicz Views 'Intensified' Criticism of Sejm

LD1209105291 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 0905 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] The Sejm began its proceedings at 0900. The agenda was changed. The first item on the agenda—concerning organizational intentions within the government—was moved to a later time. Item two—that is, the draft law on creating the honorary title of senator—was deleted following a motion by Deputy Oleksy. Deputy Geremek admittedly argued that this was, for the moment, the only way of honoring our many emigres, but the Sejm acknowledged that this issue was less important than laws requiring urgent examination. Therefore, the Sejm session began with a report by Deputy Andrzej Sidor, a report on the Commission for Social Policy's work to amend employment laws. Prior to the deputy rapporteur's speech, Speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz took the floor:

[Begin Kozakiewicz recording] I want to say a few of my own words. At the council yesterday, we raised the issue of the prime minister's speech in the United States, by the prime minister, who is a member of this house. Some of the council members were upset by this speech because it was substantially untrue and inappropriate in terms of location. We can only express our regret that this occurred abroad and that this speech's author was a member of this Sejm. The recent period is marked by intensified accusations, insults, and slander on both sides. This slander and these accusations are treated as a weapon against oneself, used to discredit either the Sejm or the government. We are in a special period; we need strength and the gathering of forces to meet the contemporary period's challenges and need not fight one another but fight for the common good, which may be seriously threatened in this transitional period. Let us say honestly that insults, slander, and criticism of the Sejm have been occurring for a long time now. As you probably remember, ladies and gentlemen, we adopted the principle of not replying to them, believing that our best reply was work, the laws we passed, the system we were changing. The Sejm is now in its final stages. We know very well that we will not manage everything out of the aforementioned several dozen laws, which is why we are dealing with special powers for the government. We cannot meet all social expectations, and, quite simply, there just isn't the time now for everything. I fear that, if this accumulation of agression on both sides continues, the result may be great devastation and, by the same token, the violation of our objective achievements. If we say abroad that Poland belongs to those countries at the forefront in many reforms, in democratization and the free market, then that, after all, is the work of this Sejm. It is the result of the over 200 laws we have passed. We can be proud of this. We should not cloud this picture through aggressive actions on both sides. [end recording]

Union, Ministry To Work Out Collective Disputes

LD1109235491 Warsaw PAP in English 2052 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] Gdansk, Sept. 10—The leadership of the Solidarity Union decided Tuesday [10 September] to work out, along with the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy, a concept of government-unionist negotiations on issues that are not covered by the law on solving collective disputes.

The Presidium of the Solidarity National Commission also discussed a concept of forming special unionist bodies to prevent economic fraud. The idea of such task teams was presented by Solidarity leader Marian Krzaklewski following his talks with President Lech Walesa on the matter.

At the same meeting the Presidium resolved to bring a legal action to the Supreme Administrative Court against the minister of national education in connection with his decision to limit the number of classes at schools during the current school year.

The Presidium met in Gdansk four days before the meeting of the national commission scheduled for Friday and Saturday in the southern city of Czestochowa.

SLD Deputy on Communist Past, Election Matters

AU1109115991 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 9 Sep 91

[Interview with Aleksander Kwasniewski, deputy chairman of the Election Committee of the Alliance of the Democratic Left, by Igor Janke, date and place not given: "The Past Acts as a Burden and Provides a Great Opportunity"]

[Excerpts] [Janke] What is the Alliance of the Democratic Left's [SLD] attitude toward the communist past? In one issue of OBSERWATOR WARSZAWSKI (a newspaper of the Social Democratic Party of the Republic of Poland), Jerzy Wiatr says: "We are proud of it." Are you?

[Kwasniewski] I would not say that we can be nothing but proud of the past 40 years, because we cannot; neither can we totally reject them.

There is no doubt that the communist past, as you put it, is a burden, but it also provides us with greater election opportunities than other groups. All the same, our adversaries condemn us because of this past.

We confess to having links with the Polish United Workers Party, but one must remember that this was a multimillion-strong party, with all types of members. We are based on that party's reformist currents, the ones that wanted to implement democracy and modernize the

economy, and effectively brought about the "round-table" talks and the takeover of power by the opposition of the time.

We do not assess the past in terms of "black" or "white." The values that were then extolled had many supporters initially. For millions of people, the past 40 years provided an opportunity for social advancement. The greatest weakness of this system was the absence of democracy and the rigidity of political and economic structures. That was the reason the system fell.

But when we talk about this period, we must appreciate the work of the many people who tried to do the best they could and in the best of faith, and who feel frustrated today. I was sad and angry to hear Prime Minister Bielecki say, unwisely, that the economy had suffered greater losses during the past 40 years than it did under the German occupation. The people I have mentioned expect us to defend not only their interests but also their honor.

[Janke] The SLD wants to be a social democratic formation. In that case, what kind of position does the "Proletariat" League of Polish Communists occupy in it?

[Kwasniewski] It is a small organization, and its existence makes us more credible as an alternative, left-wing group that does not refer to communist sources. I think the political divisions in Poland should be more distinct. There should be communists side by side with the social democrats, and on the opposite side there should be Christian democrat or Christian national groups. I consider the League of Polish Communists a necessary part of a pluralistic society. In any case, we are an alliance of the democratic left that is open to anyone who accepts our common objectives. [passage omitted]

[Janke] Who is the SLD's chief political adversary today?

[Kwasniewski] The most aggressive and primitive elements of the right wing, e.g. the Center Accord, and especially those parts of the Christian-National Union and Confederation for an Independent Poland that are furthest to the right.

[Janke] And who is your greatest competitor in the elections?

[Kwasniewski] I think we have our own, stable electorate. But sections of the Democratic Party, Social-Democratic Movement, and Solidarity of Labor will try to capture similar voters—people of a left-wing disposition who are attached to democracy and do not reminisce about the past. However, Party X may try to capture voters who were involved with the left wing and who do reminisce about the past. Party X will gather the disappointed former Polish United Workers Party members who are angry with us for having handed over power on a plate.

Walesa, Ministers Receive CSFR's Dobrovsky

AU1109125291 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 9 Sep 91 pp 1, 2

[Jerzy Rajch report: "Talks With CSFR Defense Minister"]

[Excerpt] On 6 September, Lech Walesa, president of the Republic of Poland, received Lubos Dobrovsky, CSFR defense minister, who is visiting our country for several days.

Andrzej Drzycimski, presidential press spokesman, provided the following information on the meeting: "The conversation with the president was a continuation of the exchange on the similar problems that Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary face. The president spoke about the unrest that he sees lying ahead of us and the impact that such unrest could have on the situation in this part of Europe. The talks on this subject will be continued during Lech Walesa's visit to the CSFR, which will last from 16 through 18 September."

During the meeting, a concrete discussion was held on problems affecting our two countries. It was pointed that there is a need to view defense issues in a new way. The political changes that are taking place in Europe call for a discussion of difficult problems, cooperation, and the exchange of information. At the present time, military issues should come second after foreign policy, which is the main element in building every country's security.

The president of the Republic of Poland pointed to the need to find unconventional solutions, which the world would be able to apply, if peace is threatened. A substantial role can be played by joint actions on the part of states and organizations such as the UN, NATO, and CSCE.

On the same day, Lubos Dobrovsky held a meeting with Rear Admiral Piotr Kolodziejczyk, minister of national defense of the Republic of Poland.

They discussed the international situation in the context of the changes that are currently taking place in the Soviet Union. Information was exchanged on the two armies, and further bilateral cooperation was defined.

Cooperation in this area is developing very successfully. Both ministers expressed satisfaction and stressed that it is also an important element in economic and political cooperation between the two states.

Janusz Onyszkiewicz, deputy minister of national defense, was also present.

"Cooperation between our armies centers on the coordination of aims and the constant exchange of information on possible dangers and ways of counteracting such dangers," said Minister L. Dobrovsky, speaking to journalists. He added: "NATO membership is not our political goal. Our goal is to convince Western states that Czechoslovakia is a European and democratic state and

that its Army is also European and democratic. The defense policies of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary also have to be coordinated so that they satisfy the interests of each individual state."

As we know, this is not the first meeting between the defense ministers of Poland and Czechoslovakia. A meeting that was also attended by the Hungarian defense minister was held in Krakow on 2 August. Cooperation between our states' armed forces is based on agreement on the main directions of military cooperation that was signed by the defense ministers of the Republic of Poland and the CSFR in Warsaw on 27 February of this year. The plan for 1991 envisages several dozen joint undertakings. Some of them concern cooperation in modernizing military hardware. A joint group of experts has been formed for this purpose.

Minister L. Dobrovsky held talks with Krzysztof Skubiszewski, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Poland. [passage omitted]

Balcerowicz Comments on Talks in Czechoslovakia

LD1209004291 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1700 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Deputy Prime Minister Leszek Balcerowicz spent several hours in the Czechoslovak capital. On his return, he said, at Okecie Airport:

[Balcerowicz] We spoke both with Minister Klaus, that is, the finance minister, with Mr. Dlouhy, the economics minister, with Prime Minister Calfa and President Havel. Two themes were interwoven here. The first issue was that of negotiating strategy with the EC. What is important is that we should achieve better access for our products, particularly agricultural products. With Minister Klaus, we agreed that the Community's stance so far in this matter was not satisfactory. We await considerable progress here. The second issue was that of better exchange of information (?and so) coordination of actions for [word indisdinct] access to the eastern market, which is important both for Poland and Czechoslovakia.

Apart from this, a series of bilateral issues required discussion. We agreed, among other things, that our common problem is to improve the structure of bank credits, the creation of a working group that would work in this direction. One of the things we also agreed on was that we would give access to national currencies in the turnover market as the start of a longer process. We will accelerate negotiations on two important agreements. One is to avoid double taxation, the other to protect investments. We expect that within a few weeks, experts will succeed in bringing about the signing of this agreement. Maybe I should also add that both sides are interested in the practical achievement of something that may be termed a triangular solution, which means financing by the West of the purchase in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary of products important to the Soviet Union.

Bielecki Says EC Membership 'Main Goal'

LD1109225691 Warsaw PAP in English 1704 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Washington, Sept. 11—Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki told a press conference here Wednesday that EC membership was Poland's main goal and his country could not accept the proposal of forming an economic union with by former communist countries with former Soviet republics as proposed by Russian Prime Minister Ivan Silayev. [sentence as received]

"Our place is in the family of democratic Western states and full membership in the EC," he declared.

Skubiszewski Views Russian, Lithuanian Ties

LD1109225991 Warsaw PAP in English 2207 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, Sept. 11—Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski Wednesday sharply criticized opinions according to which Poland, the first country to sign the declaration on the principles of relations with Russia last year, later on was supposed to have considerably wasted chances to expand relations with the Russian Federation.

Relations with Russia have been maintained but in view of the positions of the Russian Government and President Yeltsin the pace of these relations had to be adjusted to the pace of internal changes and to the wishes of Russia, Minister Skubiszewski told newsmen here.

Minister Skubiszewski questioned opinions about a threat that would be posed to Poland by the settlement of the German minority in the Kaliningrad district in the USSR and by investments by German capital there. German investments in Kaliningrad are something normal and desirable for this district, while the German minority wants primarily to return to its historical places of residence on the Volga River, he said.

Skubiszewski opined that a decision by the Vilnius authorities to suspend the work of self-government bodies in the Vilnius and Soleczniki regions was bad and should not have been made in the first place.

The Lithuanian Government ignored provisions of its own legislation, he said. Depriving Poles in Lithuania of their self-government bodies, Lithuanian authorities thus deprived them of the opportunity to express their interests and made Poles defenceless while Poles in Lithuania are in need of defence, the minister stressed.

Krzysztof Skubiszewski told newsmen that during the talks with his Lithuanian opposite number Algirdas Saudargas he made a concrete proposal that the Lithuanian parliament and government should suspend the implementation of their earlier decisions on self-government bodies on the territory inhabited by Poles.

Minister Skubiszewski also said he planned to pay a separate visit to the Lithuanian Republic.

Daily Hails Diplomatic Relations With Ukraine

AU1109120391 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 9 Sep 91

[Kazimierz Woycicki commentary: "Poland, The Ukraine, Europe"]

[Text] Poland is the first country to have decided to establish diplomatic relations with the Ukraine. Good-neighborly relations with our eastern neighbor may alter the hitherto difficult geographical-political situation of our country. It also lies in our interests for the independent Ukraine to join the international community as quickly as possible, especially the CSCE and European security structures.

This is the obvious result of the collapse of the USSR. Polish diplomacy must act quickly and energetically. Just like nature, politics cannot stand a vacuum. Even petty matters can develop into dangerous conflicts when there are no treaties and agreements between countries. The war in Yugoslavia and tension in the Caucasus illustrate the great danger that accompanies a collapse of totalitarian structures.

However, hopes are greater than fears. Polish Foreign Minister Skubiszewski and Ukrainian Foreign Minister Zlenko both stressed that Polish-Ukrainian relations are an important contribution to the construction of a Europe that is no longer divided. The conclusion of a bilateral agreement between the two countries and the declaration of cooperation adopted last October are a good start.

Roman Leaves for Sofia, Previews Visit

AU1209090391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0837 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 12/9/1991—During the visit I shall pay to Bulgaria today [12 September], we are going to discuss with the Bulgarian party concrete aspects to stimulate the relations between our countries, the economic ones first of all, which have been on the decline as a consequence of the collapse of former structures, the Romanian prime minister said on Bucharest Radio, before he left for Sofia. We must also clarify a few other things, such as that of the crossing point at Giurgiu, and the so-called ecologic problem Giurgiu-Ruse. I have used the word "so-called" because one year ago we started with the Bulgarian party an action for eliminating the noxious release from Giurgiu and which caused many troubles at Ruse. Not only the Romanian side has been willing as far as this problem was concerned, but many concrete steps have been taken. We shall try to clarify these things once for all, so that no dissatisfaction appear again, added Mr. Petre Roman.

Nastase Meets Hurd, Foreign Ministers in Moscow

AU1109134991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1236 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 11/9/1991—"On the occasion of its participation in the Moscow's meeting of the CSCE Conference for the Human Dimension, Romania's Minister of Foreign Affairs Adrian Nastase met, on 10 September, of the conference, with Douglas Hurd, the minister of foreign affairs of Great Britain, broadcast the "ROMPRES" correspondent to Moscow. The two ministers appreciated the present level of bilateral relations, illustrated by both frequent contacts between the two governments and the growing interest of British firms and businessmen in the Romanian economy. Ways were discussed of enlarging these relations. The British minister reasserted the support of his government for negotiations to start as soon as possible on an agreement of association between Romania and the Common Market, considering it's time for such an agreement to be concluded. Generally speaking, the head of the British diplomacy expressed his support to the process of economic reforms and of democratisation going on in Romania.

Equally on the first day of the conference, Mr. Adrian Nastase had an interview with the Turkish minister of foreign affairs, Safa Giray, with whom he also exchanged opinions on bilateral relations, considered by both parties to be very good. The two foreign ministers underscored that their countries were making efforts that the visit the Turkish president Turgut Ozal is going to pay to Romania have substantial results. The interview also favoured a swap of opinions on the problems of the cooperation in the Balkans and on the economic cooperation in the Black Sea zone, a close cooperation being agreed on by the ministries of foreign affairs of the two countries for the promotion of these initiatives.

Next, the Romanian foreign minister met Budimir Loncar, federal secretary of the foreign affairs of Yugoslavia, who informed him on the initiatives taken by the European communities in seeking solutions to the Yugoslav crisis, particularly on the conference for Yugoslavia, that will properly start in the Hague on 17 September 1991. The Yugoslav minister particularly appreciated the stands adopted by the Government of Romania all along Yugoslav crisis, its constant support of a democratic solution to be found by the peoples making up Yugoslavia. The two ministers agreed on close relations to continue to be maintained between the two foreign ministers and reciprocal information to be made on the evolutions in the region, affecting the interests of the two countries.

Equally on Tuesday, 10 September, Adrian Nastase had talks with Van den Broek, minister of foreign affairs of the Netherlands and acting president of the Council of the European Communities. The centerpiece of the discussions was the development of Romania's relations with the Common Market, in the spirit of the declaration of the 21 August 1991 extraordinary meeting of the foreign ministers of the EEC countries.

Government Discusses Economy at 11 Sep Meeting

AU1109175591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1719 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 11/9/1991—This afternoon [11 September] Romania's government gathered in its usual weekly meeting presided over by Prime Minister Petre Roman.

The most important subject on the agenda—representing a first step towards privatization law—refers to the methodological measures concerning the selling of assets of the state-capital commercial companies, a paper delivered by Theodor Stolojan, president of the National Privatization Agency.

Also today Eugen Dijmarescu, minister of state, minister of economy and finances, is to present a report on the activity on the first semester carried out by the Financing Control Department of the Ministry of Economy and Finances.

Analysis will be also made of a series of bills and resolutions given to the government members to analyze and to make observations and proposals.

Before debating the items on the agenda, Premier Petre Roman asked Minister of Agriculture and Food Petre Marculescu and General Secretary of the Government Paul Jerbac to inform the executive members about the application of the resolution concerning the subsidizing by the state of meat products.

Finding out that the data presented by the minister of agriculture and food were different from the ones presented by the general secretary of the government, the prime minister demanded that all having contributed to the supply of unrealistic data be dismissed immediately.

Oil Imported From Iran Worth $100 Million

AU1109140691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1306 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 11/9/1991—In recent months Romania imported 700 thousand tonnes of crude from Iran in the Romanian-Iranian clearing account. That import, worth 100 million dollars, was part of conventions extant between authorities in Romania and Iran.

The last batch was delivered in August and will reach the port of Constanta round September 11.

At present, a Romanian delegation of experts from the "ROMPETROLEXPORT" company and from four refineries are in Iran to continue negotiations on imports of Iranian crude.

Controversy Over Draft Constitution Reported

AU1109135391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1244 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 11/9/1991—On the basis of written amendments advanced by parliamentarians to the Constitutional Commission and of the debates held today the Constituent Assembly endorsed Articles 3 and 4 of the constitution, which refer to Romania's territory, the unity of its people, and equality of its citizens.

The most controversial item for discussion was the first paragraph of Article 4 on the unity of the Romanian people as a basis of the state. Although the rules of the Constituent Assembly clearly show that amendments questioning principles, structural elements or fundamental changes in theses or reiterating theses and ideas rejected in a previous session cannot be discussed, the representatives of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania (UDMR) tried to impose an amendment according to which "the state is based on the unity of the Romanian nation and of the other nations."

The Constitutional Commission showed that the idea suggested by that amendment, which turns all minorities into nations, was exaggerated, which caused discontent in the UDMR group. Moreover, Senator Karoly Kiraly vehemently protested against the assessments of the Constitutional Commission and its chairman, Mr. Antonie Iorgovan, and said that "under such circumstances I will walk out." For the time being he is still present in the debates.

PNL Drafts Law on Communist Organizations Ban

AU1209090291 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 6 Sep 91 pp 1, 2

["National Liberal Party Draft of 'Law on Banning the Functioning and on Disbanding the Romanian Communist Party and All Its Forms of Manifestation'"]

[Text] Article 1. The activity of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and all forms of manifestation of communist—totalitarian—ideology are against the law and against the democratic character and spirit of the Romanian peoplel thus, it is banned throughout our national territory.

Article 2. All organizations and groups of communist origin, or those which are based on this ideology, regardless of their name, are disbanded on the day this law comes into force.

Article 3. The assets of these formations—in their entirety—will be turned into state property under the control of the Parliament through its specialized commissions on the day of their disbandment.

Article 4. The communist-type organizations that are being disbanded are: the RCP and the Socialist Party of Labor.

Article 5. All other organizations based on communist ideology and that are banned through the present law are to be established by the Supreme Court of Justice, which can be notified by every interested person.

Article 6. The present law comes into force on the day when it is published in the MONITORUL OFFICIAL.

Peasant Party's Ratiu Rejects Banning of PSM

AU1209090691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0839 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 12/9/1991—Ion Ratiu, former candidate to Romanian's presidency, for the National Peasant Party, is definitely against the banning of the Socialist Party of Labor [PSM], which considers itself to be the successor of the Romanian Communist Party.

"When the creation of PSM was announced I clearly said" I am greeting the creation of this party", [quote marks as received] and I explained it was the duty of democrats to make it clear to the electorate what this party means and why it must be rejected. "When we ban the free expression of any political opinions, the idea of democracy is the one that suffers.", said Ion Ratiu who added that "democrats must counter not ban the ideas they do not like. If the PSM is banned, its members will probably act underground and will be more efficient and harmful to true democracy than they are if they act legally." "I understand the response of the Romanian

people after 45 years of suffering, but that can't change my opinion of true democracy", mentioned the leader of the National Peasant Party.

Civic Alliance Leader Discusses Party Chances

AU1009085991 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 4 Sep 91 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Stelian Tanase, vice president of the Civic Alliance Party, by Ioan Lascu; place and date not given: "Our Chance Is Everybody's Chance"]

[Text] [Lascu] Mr. Stelian Tanase, do you believe that the Civic Alliance Party [PAC] is a popular party?

[Tanase] I can tell you that in the counties one can even note a certain enthusiasm about becoming a member of this party. It is not absolutely compulsory to be a member of the Civic Alliance Party to work with it, but just to be close to it and cooperate with it. Interest in this party is increasing—in the past weeks it was able to assert its realistic attitude in connection with the crisis in the Soviet Union when we, I think, proved our maturity, because we were the first ones to react firmly; we demanded precise and clear measures that would make such a putsch impossible in our country. Unfortunately, I think that the reaction of those in power was just to side with the questions raised by us.

[Lascu] Could you be more precise, please...?

[Tanase] Let us take a single example: The Ministry of Defense issued a communique saying that no communist, extremist, and chauvinistic propaganda is practiced in the Army, something that is incorrect in my view. It is enough to watch the Army's television programs in which C. V. Tudor [leader of Romania Mare Party] makes inimical statements about intellectuals, newspapers, parties, and democratic figures; it is enough to note that such reviews as ROMANIA MARE and EUROPA are carrying items by some high-ranking officers. A communique that was issued by the Army did not mention anything about the Civic Alliance's views about the Army. We opt for an Army of professionals, an Army of competent people. We want elite officers, as this was the case during the happy times of Greater Romania. We believe that, in the post-communist transition societies, it is compulsory that the Army be depoliticized, well equipped and well trained. We rely a great deal on officers of the younger and more mature generations. We do not accept high-ranking officers and generals who were compromised during Ceausescu's time, and we do not accept propagandists and people who were educated in Moscow. We opt for a strong national and well-paid Army, and if we win the elections, we will send a great number of young officers and cadets to Western military academies for training. We view the Army as a well-integrated and respected component of society. It was the communists who brought scorn against the Army, not the Civic Alliance Party. Unfortunately, a few reactionary generals issued the communique that proved that they feel guilty about the things that the press had actually noted a long time ago.

[Lascu] The Declaration-Appeal dwells very much on the trial of communism. This trial is a very delicate matter; it needs long investigations, as well as great judicial integrity. How can this be achieved and by means of what legal instruments?

[Tanase] I am glad that you are asking this question, because I want to clarify certain things. A few months ago, the Civic Alliance issued a statement for national reconciliation, but it is not a kind of conciliation between victims and those who have committed violations, and it does not mean "kissing each and everyone gathered in the square" [presumably quoting Romanian playwright Caragiale]. I favor forgiving. I am against any purge or witch hunt. But I am wondering how we can proceed when people realize that those who for 30-40 years committed crimes and abuses and ruined people go unscathed. We do not condemn someone who through his activity sent tens of thousands of people to death or to prison for scores of years unjustly. We have to seek national reconciliation, but also social justice. Our Declaration-Appeal is in no way directed against the 3.5 million Communist Party members, in no way, I want to stress this point! It refers only to the high dignitaries, the Central Committee secretaries, the section chiefs, ministers, and county first secretaries who, through their work, did evil that can be proved by legal means. Thus, we favor national reconciliation. We do not want a polarization of society into "we" and "they," which is very dangerous. We are for a new social contract and this can be concluded with 95 or 99 percent of the population; the guilty ones should be brought before the court to account for their actions.

I have also been asked whether the legal authorities alone should carry out the necessary investigations, or the population as well. This is a very important thing—in our view it is very dangerous to leave such a matter in the hands of the population. A new campaign of denunciation and retaliation would begin, and we are against such a thing. Only the court may prosecute, try, and accuse on the basis of clear evidence—documents and witnesses. We are for a democratic trial of communism.

[Lascu] The Declaration-Appeal at the recent national meeting frequently discusses the problem of youth. Would you please describe the vision of the Civic Alliance Party on the role and activity of youth in a democratic society.

[Tanase] We believe that the chance for the Civic Alliance Party is the chance for the whole society, and it is the chance for youth. Young people are the most interested not only in the distant and not too distant future, but they are also the least intoxicated by communism. Following the Declaration-Appeal there was an influx of people at our headquarters who want to become party members; 80 percent of them are young people! The Civic Alliance Party is a party of young people, and its

success lies in its cooperation with young people and in their joining our party. We are thinking of young people who will assume political responsibility and from among whose ranks the new political class will emerge. For instance, we want branch leaders to be 25 years old, we want to have very young people in the National Committee, and we want numerous people under the age of 30 to run for the elections. It is sad that those who faced the bullets and counted the most victims, and who, actually, did their utmost for the tangible victory of the revolution, should be the first on the unemployment lists and yield the highest number of emigrants. Those in power do not do anything except make a few very vague statements. No one is dealing with youth; it is they who will ensure the continuity and success of the democratic process in Romania. This process will be successful only if youth not only fulfills it, but also decides on it. Our party is the party of young people. I cannot imagine its future differently. One cannot build a new world with people who are thinking in an old-fashioned way. The young people who have proved their courage and that they love freedom and democracy have also proved that they are able to make decisions for this country. It is like betting on a winner. I am surprised that youth is ignored by the government and those in power...

[Lascu] What is the proportion of young people in the Civic Alliance Party?

[Tanase] Fortunately, they are very numerous: a proportion of more than 50 percent, and we want to increase it!

Vatra Romaneasca Protests Transylvania Study

AU1109121891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0942 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 11/9/1991—As concerns the study drawn up by Poland's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, according to which the "Trilateral"—Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia—would also be based in future on sub-regions bordering these states, such as the sub-Carpathian region of the Ukraine and Transylvania, especially the area of the Apuseni Mountains, the Bucharest branch of "Vatra Romaneasca" considers these aberrant statements to disregard the basic norms of international law and to seriously prejudice the national integrity and sovereignty of Romania and consequently, expresses its strong protest, in concord with the attitude of the whole Romanian people, which will never accept new territorial rapts or foreign interference of any kind, intending to threaten its unity.

We are particularly surprised at the fact that such a diabolic plan could be elaborated in Poland, a country for which Romania has always had esteem and respect. We have good reasons to ask ourselves if that is the gratitude of the authors of this hostile plan and of the political bodies that approved such an evil action, for the Christian and humanitarian behaviour of the Romanian people, fully proved during the tragical events of 1939, when more than 80,000 Polish people, who were forced to leave their country because of the fascist invasion, were received with friendliness and hospitality in Romania, mentions the protest sent to the "ROMPRES" agency to be released. The Polish Government was guaranteed, in that year, so difficult for Europe, its security on the Romanian territory. It should also be remembered that Poland's public money, passed, then through Romania.

The "Vatra Romaneasca" Union strongly rejects any attempt at prejudicing Romania's boundaries, any plan, irrespective of the place where it is made, which disregards the sacred right of the Romanian people to decide its destiny, shows the protest.

PNT Issues Communique on Transylvania Study

AU1009154891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1342 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 10/9/1991—Following a study worked out by the Polish Foreign Ministry on cooperation between Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary and sub-Carpathian Ukraine and North-Western parts of the Romanian territory, the leadership of the National Peasant Party (PNT) sent a communique to the national news agency "ROMPRES" showing inter alia that such cooperation would be more useful and efficient if it were to be achieved with Romania as a whole.

The PNT leadership considers that any act of regional cooperation is welcome to the extent to which it is designed and fulfilled with the consent of the countries concerned, that it is necessary that the principles of the Helsinki Final Act and the new-type links between European states should be considered.

Federal

Belgrade Paper Urges Federal Government's Resignation

LD1209103491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0924 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, September 12 (TANJUG)—The Belgrade daily VECERNJE NOVOSTI writes today that the Yugoslav Federal Government should resign instead of announcing a cabinet re-shuffle.

'War is raging in the country, republican flags are flying at the borders and black ones in front of a growing number of houses, the system's institutions are falling apart, but all this does not seem sufficient reason for the government's resignation, but enough for a cabinet re-shuffle' writes VECERNJE NOVOSTI in a commentary entitled '(Re)construction for Whom.'

Listing the Yugoslav Government's mistakes, the daily says that it is 'keeping both eyes shut while party hordes are being armed, non-Yugoslav flags are flying on the country's borders, and its current manipulation of doing away with internal borders of the already disintegrated Yugoslavia in order to become a part of Europe.'

VECERNJE NOVOSTI claims that 'there are views that the business over the cabinet re-shuffle has been invented, so that in the event it proves unsuccessful Ante Markovic will have an elegant alibi for his final withdrawal to his home republic of Croatia.'

Croatia Cuts Serbia Gasoline Supply

LD1109204391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1422 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, September 11 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Republic of Serbia is faced with a petroleum and petroleum products shortage, because the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia has confiscated, because of damages to the Adriatic oil pipeline, some 99,765 tonnes of crude oil destined for Serbia, as reported by the Belgrade press today.

The decree on the confiscating of the oil was made by the Croatian government on September 9, as managing director of the Adriatic oil pipeline Ante Sain informed the refinery in Pancevo, the largest in Serbia.

The Pancevo refinery received a telefax on Friday with a message from Sain saying that the Adriatic oil pipeline was stopping the delivery of oil to Serbia "because of terrorist activities," writes the daily BORBA.

Today's issue of POLITIKA carries a statement by Adriatic oil pipeline chief engineer Nanto Bobetko, who emphasized that "nine 120 mm mortars had damaged the mechanism operating the main valve" of the pipeline near Sisak. Bobetko adds that it is not known who hit the pipeline and that experts have not managed to repair it.

POLITIKA and PRIVREDNI PREGLED doubt the truth of the damage to the Adriatic oil pipeline and ask if the telefax on the terrorist attack on the Sisak terminal, is not in fact, Croatia's excuse for stopping oil supplies to Serbian refineries.

Serbia To Inform EC, U.S., USSR

LD1109204891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1923 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, September 11 (TANJUG)—The Serbian government has decided to inform foreign ministers of European Community (E.C.) member-countries, the United States and the Soviet Union, and Yugoslavia peace conference chairman Lord Carrington, that the Republic of Croatia has cut off the supply of oil through the Yugoslav pipeline to the refineries in Serbia.

Deputy Prime Minister of Serbia Budimir Kosutic informed reporters about this today. Speaking at a press conference at the Serbian government headquarters, he said that he hoped these international factors would react, since the nature of this move by the Croatian government, which [word indistinct] one of the steps in the war against Serbia, as he said.

Kosutic said that Serbia was considering countermeasures, but hoped that they would not be applied, since the international factors were expected to react.

Serbia will avoid restrictions in the supply of this raw material by using other routes of oil transport and oil reserves, it was said at the press conference.

Speaking about the peace conference for Yugoslavia in The Hague, Kosutic said that the Serbian delegation at that meeting would urge respect for the familiar stands that Yugoslavia exists and that not a single of its nations which created Yugoslavia can be a nation in a minority in any of its parts.

"We shall not accept that the Serbian people be a national minority or be equalled in status to national minorities which have their own state outside Yugoslavia," Kosutic said.

Parliament Presidents To Attend Talks in Strasbourg

LD1109191991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1739 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Strasbourg, September 11 (TANJUG)—Presidents of Yugoslav parliament and presidents of all republican parliaments except the Montenegrin have confirmed that they would attend tomorrow's meeting in Strasbourg with European Parliament President Enrique Baron Crespo.

The Strasbourg meeting will consider ways to help the conflicts in Croatia end permanently and that the Yugoslav crisis is resolved peacefully through the parliamentary institutions of Yugoslavia and the European Community (E.C.).

As learned in sources of the European Parliament presidency, the following Yugoslav officials have confirmed their arrival in Strasbourg: federal parliament president Slobodan Gligorijevic, parliament presidents Momcilo Krajisnik of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Stojan Andov of Macedonia, Zarko Domljan of Croatia, Franco Bucar and Aleksandar Bakocevic of Serbia.

Montenegrin parliament president Risto Vukcevic cannot come to Strasbourg because of other pressing engagements.

It is underscored here in the circles of the European Parliament presidency that it would be very useful for the peace efforts of the E.C. in Yugoslavia if the presidents of the Yugoslav and European parliaments would adopt a joint statement.

In a message to Yugoslav parliament presidents, Baron Crespo expressed the wish that European deputies also contribute to the curbing of the civil war in Yugoslavia, whose consequences, as he said, were 'humiliating, primarily for you, but also for other European countries.'

Kostic Urges Croats to Face Problems

LD1109165491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0103 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Valjevo, September 10 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav State Presidency Vice President Branko Kostic said tonight that a settlement of the Yugoslav crisis could hardly be expected if the ruling Croatian party, the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ), does not accept the fact that an independent Croatian state was possible only if the Serbian people in the republic are given the same right.

According to Kostic, who talked at a gathering in the town of Valjevo, "the truth about the essence of the conflict in Yugoslavia is getting through in Europe."

Kostic said this was seen in the fact that the European Community accepted Serbs in Croatia as a party in conflict. It is beginning to be realized that "Serbs in Croatia are no more outlaws in relation to the Croatian constitution than the current Croatian authorities are in relation to the Yugoslav constitution."

Asked whether Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic and his government were working against the policy of the Federal Presidency, Kostic replied affirmatively, but pointed out that "the question is what would we, as a country, gain by overthrowing the government when we do not have a parliamentary rule."

Asked whether the ousting of Croatian President Franjo Tudjman would change the situation in the republic, Kostic noted that Tudjman and the president of the Yugoslav Presidency, Stjepan Mesic (also a Croat), belong to the "moderate wing of HDZ". "Imagine what would happen if someone else took their place," Kostic said.

Reportage on Mesic Army Withdrawal Order

Mesic Explains Order

LD1109163291 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Stipe Mesic, president of the Presidency of Yugoslavia, has ordered the army to withdraw to barracks. The order is accompanied by an explanation.

Stipe Mesic, president of the Presidency of Yugoslavia, today delivered an order to the Federal Secretariat for national Defense [SSNO] ordering the withdrawal of all [army] units back to barracks within 48 hours and the units which with the help of (?armed) groups have occupied the area of the Beli Manastir municipality to withdraw within 72 hours from the time the order is announced by the media.

It is stated in the order that all military commanders who fail to heed and carry out the decisions of the SFRY Presidency on army withdrawal to barracks will place themselves outside the law. The withdrawal of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] to barracks and the disbanding of the so-called territorial defense, which was mobilized in contravention of the law since the SFRY Presidency has made no decision on such mobilization—the order goes on to say—will create conditions for resolving the crisis peacefully and through a dialogue between all relevant sectors. Only if the army withdraws back to barracks will it be possible to insure the rule of law and the functioning of all its institutions, the order, signed by the president of the SFRY Presidency, Stipe Mesic, says in conclusion.

In the explanation of his order Stipe Mesic, says the point one, paragraph seven of the cease-fire agreement which Mesic signed on 1 September on the basis of a decision by the Presidency of Yugoslavia in its capacity of supreme commander, sets out the obligation of the army to withdraw to barracks. In his explanation President Mesic goes on to say that both the army top brass and the SSNO have ignored his repeated requests, and as a consequence the YPA units have continued, contrary to the decision of the Yugoslav Presidency, to take part in the undeclared war against the Republic of Croatia.

With its heavy weaponry and the air force, the Yugoslav army has destroyed numerous facilities of vital economic importance as well as many cultural, historical and sacred monuments in Croatia. Over 178,000 men, women and children have abandoned their homes, and many have been killed or hurt. Towns are being destroyed and villages burned daily to create room for expanding the borders of Greater Serbia. In this way the army has been acting outside its institutional framework.

In practice this means that a military coup has been carried out, Stipe Mesic says in the explanation, which has also been sent to the SSNO.

The explanation goes on to say that many army commanders are no longer under the control of their higher commands and that often they use their units for joint actions with Chetnik-terrorist groups against legitimate organs of power of the Republic of Croatia.

To illustrate the YPA's unconstitutional activities, SFRY Presidency President Stipe Mesic cites serveral examples: All outlaw groups were armed by the YPA and given protection by it; the army carried out the mobilization of Serbs into the territorial defense or turned a blind eye to it, so that now these units are acting under the joint command of the YPA or with its connivance, perpetrating crimes against the civilian population of the kind not seen even during the Second World War.

Units under the command of General Nikola Uzelac from the First Army District have been attacking Croatian towns and villages with heavy weapons from the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina. The same general has told the president of the Bosinia-Hercegovina government that this will continue until the Croatian police surrender, for instance in Hrvatska Kostajnica, Stipe Mesic said.

War crimes of the so-called territorial defense in Baranja and Srem were committed with the active support of the YPA. The YPA has occupied Baranja and handed it over to extreme groups which are now sending ultimatums to the Republic of Croatia. Borivoje Dobrokesa, a major on active service, has been putting down his signature together with the Chetniks.

Milan Martic, arrested in Bosnia-Hercegovina following the issuance of a warrant for his arrest due to the crimes he had committed, was transported to Knin like a people's hero in an army helicopter by General Major Aleksandar Vasiljevic. From the territories of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Serbia, the YPA has been destroying Croatian cities and villages, Hrvatska Kostajnica, Vukovar, etc, with heavy artillery weapons and tanks. General Aksentijevic of the Fifth Military District made a cynical statement on Croatian TV saying that the YPA withdrawal to barracks is the personal view of the president of the SFRY Presidency. In so doing he flagrantly violated the laws which both he and other YPA officers enjoy quoting, Stipe Mesic said.

The YPA seized the Croatian TV transmitters in Slavonia, Dalmatia and Lika for the needs of the Belgrade TV. The Federal Secretariat for National Defence and the YPA chief of staff are most responsible for such unconstitutional activity of the YPA units and services, Stipe Mesic said. He added in conclusion that he is issuing the above order because the army leadership is continually obstructing the implementation of the Supreme Command decisions.

Kostic Says Order 'Unconstitutional'

LD1109200791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1912 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Sep (TANJUG)—Dr Branko Kostic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, tonight said that "the order by Stjepan Mesic, president of the SFRY Presidency, on the withdrawal of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] units to barracks, represents yet another frivolity and political manipulation by the current president of the SFRY Presidency."

"By giving an unconstitutional order to the YPA, Stjepan Mesic has abused his position as president of the Presidency," Branko Kostic told TANJUG.

This move has no basis either in the constitution or in the decisions of the SFRY Presidency which have been adopted hitherto as regards the engagement of the YPA in preventing clashes in Croatia, he said.

According to Kostic, it would be opportune for Mr. Mesic to come from Zagreb to Belgrade, and to finally convene the session of the Presidency, on which the collective head of state had earlier reached an agrement, in order that the political discussion on the future of Yugoslavia may continue.

Constitutional Court Views Order

LD1109223891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1656 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Sep (TANJUG)—The Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia today did not accept the initiative by its president and some citizens in assessing the constitutionality and legality of the decision by the SFRY Presidency on 18 July on the withdrawal of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] from Slovenia. However, the court will send a letter to the SFRY Assembly, pointing out that, by this decision, the SFRY Presidency violated the SFRY Constitution.

This epilogue of discussion, which lasted several hours (and in which judges from Slovenia also took part), is somewhat paradoxical. It transpires that most of the judges had no doubt that the decision to transfer YPA units from Slovenia to other parts of the SFRY was "a range of unconstitutionality", or a "concentration of unconstitutionality" and, thus, the court decided to send a letter to the SFRY Assembly informing it of this stand.

Almost all the judges share the view that the SFRY Presidency crudely violated the Constitution and several federal laws by deciding to withdraw the YPA units from the border area and to free the Slovenes from military service, which is, according to the Constitution, a general obligation.

The problem, however, is a formal one. The Presidency did not publish its decision in the Official Gazette of the SFRY as stipulated by the Constitution and, this, in the opinion of some judges, makes it impossible to initiate the procedure to verify its constitutionality. The Court

also did not accept that the procedure can be initiated because the law on the publication of laws and the standing orders of the SFRY presidency orders the Presidency not to publish some of its acts. The Court has not said whether it will institute a constitutional dispute over this law and the standing orders of the SFRY Presidency.

Views were also split on whether the Presidency decision was a general act or an act of command, which is not a constitutional matter but only a matter of political assessment and responsibility.

The Constitutional Court today assessed that the law on social accounting in the Republic of Serbia is unconstitutional and contrary to the federal law on social accounting. This law envisages that if there is a conflict between the republican and federal laws on social accounting, the republican provision will apply in the Republic of Serbia and its provinces, and any person who refuses to be responsible for social accounting may be imprisoned for up to 3 years.

Defense Secretary Responds

LD1209074791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0209 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, September 12 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav People's Army units are not going to withdraw to their barracks until the collective Presidency of Yugoslavia takes an adequate decision to that effect strictly based on the cease-fire agreement signed with the European Community (E.C.), the secretary for national defence, General of the Army Veljko Kadijevic, announced here last evening.

The Yugoslav People's Army members are ready, in the future as well. To consistently execute the Yugoslav Presidency decisions, but not arbitrary decisions by its individual members, the announcement says.

In the reply of the federal secretary for national defence, Gen. Kadijevic, to today's order of the Yugoslav Presidency president, Stipe Mesic, that 'all Yugoslav Army units withdraw to their barracks within 48 hours,' it is pointed out that the Army strictly acts in accordance with the Yugoslav Presidency decisions and its constitutional authorizations, a practice confirmed several times in assessments made by the collective chief of the state of Yugoslavia as well.

The Federal Secretariat for National Defence is leaving it to the Presidency of Yugoslavia to assess 'allegations made by the Presidency president that the Army is acting unconstitutionally and, practically, has carried out a coup d'etat.' At the same time, the announcement draws attention to [words indistinct] Mesic's has several times so far usurped the Yugoslav Presidency rights and quite unauthorizedly and arbitrarily is issuing orders to the Yugoslav People's Army contrary to the Presidency decisions.'

It clearly comes from cease-fire agreement signed with the E.C. that the demobilization of Croatia's reservists and implementation of other provisions contained in the said agreement point (point and paragraph seven) should precede a withdrawal of the Army units into their barracks or, at least, be realized parallel with the said withdrawal.

In this connection, being asked in the reply is the question of 'why the Yugoslav Presidency president one-sidedly interprets the agreement and the Yugoslav People's Army commitments coming from it.'

The reply points out 'the Croatian National Guard reservists not only are not demobilized, but from day to day new ones are being mobilized and concentrated in crisis-hit areas and, together with Croatia's Guards and policemen in active service, non-stop engaged in combat actions against the Army.'

Claimed in the announcement is that Croatia's armed formations, from the moment of the signing of the cease-fire agreement in the evening of September 11, have launched 115 attacks on Army members and facilities, taking the toll of five officers and six men killed and 40 Army members wounded.

'The Mesic order can be also seen as an attempt to keep even the so small contingent of the Army forces closed in barracks, blocked and exposed to constant attacks by Croatia's armed forces.'

In the same way, being estimated as 'a gross accusation' is Mesic's claim that the Army 'takes part in the undeclared war on the Republic of Croatia,' while denied in the same or similar way is a number of other qualifications addressed to the Army in today's order issued by the Presidency of Yugoslavia president, the announcement has it.

Being found at the Federal Secretariat for National Defence is with regret, the announcement adds, that unknown to the Yugoslav Presidency president, is that the Presidency is not the highest command of the armed forces, but a collective commander-in-chief, making up the highest command only with its Federal Secretariat for National Defence staff, as well as that he is not acquainted with the Federal Secretariat for National Defence organization as an institution immediately subordinated to the Yugoslav Presidency, the same announcement says.

'Also on this occasion, the Federal Secretariat for National defence has expressed its resolute determination to consistently implement the cease-fire agreement and contribute through its activities to putting an end to armed clashes and re-establishing a so much needed peace.'

While once again requesting the Yugoslav Presidency to 'protect the Yugoslav People's Army from Mr. Mesic's well-thought-out and continuing attempts to discredit and break the Yugoslav People's Army up,' the

announcement says in conclusion that it 'has to become clear to everybody that the Army will not tolerate torture from anybody and do everything it can and with all means available to protect its dignity, the lives and honor of its members.'

President Mesic's order and the reply by the federal secretary for national defence, Gen. Kadijevic, came less than twenty-four hours before a peace conference on Yugoslavia is due in the Hague tomorrow.

Mesic Criticizes Kostic

LD1209102191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0847 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Sep (TANJUG)—I do not know when the next session of the SFRY Presidency will be held. It depends on the cease-fire and whether the existing Presidency decisions are being implemented, SFRY Presidency President Stjepan Mesic said in a telephone statement to TANJUG.

Asked if in light of his order yesterday to the Army in Croatia to return to barracks the Presidency could after all hold a session, Mesic replied by asking the following question:

"And why shoud we meet? So that I can listen to Branko Kostic who was appointed head of the cease-fire commission not because of a truce but to occupy Croatia? He is the most prominent instrument of Milosevic's policy."

Mesic said that he had issued the order in line with an existing decision of the SFRY Presidency on the basis of which he had signed the cease-fire agreement. In other words, he said, the order was issued as a step in implementing the cease-fire agreement. "Under the Presidency's procedure book, I have both the duty and the right to ensure that the Presidency decisions are implemented."

Asked to comment on a reply by Army General Veljko Kadijevic, Federal Secretary for National Defense, to the Presidency in response to his (Mesic's) order, Mesic said that Kadijevic "provided no arguments for a single one of his statements."

"If all outlaw groups, from the Adriatic Sea to (the plains of) Panonija (covering eastern Croatia and Vojvodina) are armed with the same type of weapons, use the same type of ammunition, and are applying the same war technology, no one can tell me that the perpetrators are armed peasants fighting because the Serbs are not mentioned in the (Croatian) constitution," Mesic said.

The Army is operating outside the system, Mesic said adding that "it provides a shield for the crimes more serious than those committed in World War II." The Army must go back to barracks, but they do not understand that, he aded.

Reminded by the journalist that the cease-fire agreement envisages not just the return of the Army to barracks but also the demobilization and the disarming of the National Guard Corps reserve forces, Mesic replied: "The Army can lay no conditions. I signed the cease-fire agreement on its behalf and am responsible for its implementation. Tudjman is responsible before Europe for what he does. But which idiot would disarm the defense force when 20 Croatian towns are under attack?"

Asked at the end of the telephone conversation what would happen if the Army failed to obey his order, Mesic said: "Europe and the entire world will then have to do something to move mechanisms to stop the aggression."

Stari on Decision

LD1109192691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1839 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Sep (TANJUG)—Anton Stari, general secretary of the SFRY Presidency, this evening told TANJUG that he had heard about "Stjepan Mesic's order to the Army to return to camp" on the radio. "I am not aware of the full text of the order, nor do I know on what grounds it has been issued," Anton Stari said.

The SFRY Presidency general secretary also said that the Presidency had not met since The Hague conference, and as far as he knew no consultations about the issue have taken place with the Presidency members.

"In principle," Anton Stari said, "the president implements the decision of the Presidency."

Mesic: YPA Officers Not Under High Command Control

AU1109174591 Paris AFP in English 1727 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Zagreb, Yugoslavia, Sept 11 (AFP)—The Yugoslav Army has carried out an effective military coup, Federal President Stipe Mesic said Wednesday.

The Army "is now acting outside of an institutional framework, which constitutes a military coup," he said quoted by the Croatian news agency HINA.

"Several senior officers are no longer under the control of the high command," he said. He accused the Army of going to the aid of "Serbian rebels" in Croatia.

Mesic, who under the constitution is head of the Armed Forces, has unsuccessfully ordered troops to return to barracks.

Mesic on Ministry's 'Fabrication' Against Hungary

LD1209111691 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Excerpts] The Yugoslav head of state has called yesterday's accusations by the [Yugoslav] Federal Defense Ministry against the Hungarian Army a mere fabrication. Stipe Mesic expressed his belief that Serbia wanted

to lead the world by the nose and was trying to use the Yugoslav People's Army against its old enemy, Croatia. [passage omitted] Hajnal Mate questioned the Yugoslav head of state, Stipe Mesic.

[Begin recording] [Mate] What do you think of this serious charge against Hungary, Mr. President?

[Mesic in vernacular with Hungarian translation] The whole thing is fiction and has no foundation whatsoever. I heard about this last night from General Kadijevic, the defense minister, and I definitely forbade him to publish news without checking it. I consider it astounding that he did this, nevertheless; and with this he tried to make a fool of the world.

[Mate] By the way, in whose interest is it to create a war-like atmosphere now, during The Hague peace negotiations?

[Mesic] The Serb troops use the Federal Army for occupying as large an area as possible, and meanwhile they are spreading misleading information to the world. This current provocation is exclusively a maneuver by the Serbian Government and the national defense minister. [passage omitted] [end recording]

International

EC Helicopter Comes Under Fire in Croatia

AU1109183491 Paris AFP in English 1751 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] London, Sept 11 (AFP)—A helicopter carrying European Community (EC) cease-fire observers came under fire in Croatia on Wednesday, Independent Television News (ITN) reported.

The helicopter had to make an emergency landing after it came under automatic weapons fire near Obrovac, said ITN journalist Mike Nicholson, who was on board.

The helicopter was hit and one shot passed through the cabin, breaking the sidewindow through which Nicholson was looking, passing within a few centimetres of his head.

It was the third reported attack on an EC helicopter in the past four weeks.

The Netherlands, the current EC president, protested over the weekend after an EC helicopter that was "clearly recognizable" was machine-gunned in Yugoslavia on Friday, while another attack took place on August 16.

No injuries were reported in either attack.

Further Report

LD1109192791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1851 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Zagreb, 11 Sep (TANJUG)—A helicopter with an EC cease-fire mission on board was hit today as it was landing at Okucani, the information office of the Fifth Air Force Corps says in a statement today.

No one was hit. On board the helicopter were [EC] Ambassador Wijnaendts, representatives of the YPA [Yugoslav People's Army] headed by General Andrija Raseta, representatives of the Republic of Croatia, a four-member crew of the British Independent Television News, as well as the crew of the helicopter.

The helicopter could not continue its flight, since all its fuel tanks were punctured.

The statement claims that a joint EC-YPA commission, which was in the vicinity of the incident at the time, reported that the fire at the helicopter was opened by [Croatian] National Guard Corps members.

USSR Not Wanted at Hague Peace Talks

LD1109215591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1959 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, September 11 (TANJUG)—Circles of the Soviet Foreign Ministry underscored this evening that it seems that Yugoslavia is currently not in favour of the Soviet Union becoming one of the participants of the peace conference for Yugoslavia in The Hague.

Such an impression is a result of the fact that Yugoslavia did not take a stand about the Soviet Union's readiness, expressed officially on September 6, to go to The Hague conference if Yugoslavia so wished and if such an invitation were sent to the Kremlin.

The Yugoslav stand was not expressed even in the talks between Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and Yugoslav Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar yesterday, which was interpreted by the ministry circles as follows "At present, Yugoslavia does not wish the number of participants in the conference to be increased."

Arms Reportedly Smuggled From Hungary to Croatia

LD1109213391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2009 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, September 11 (TANJUG)—Arms are being illegaly imported in Yugoslavia from Hungary by modified planes of the agricultural aviation, claims today's bulletin of the Yugoslav Defence Ministry information service.

An air link was established in late August between the Hungarian town of Nagykanisz and Varazdin in Croatia for the purpose of illegal imports of arms and military hardware, says the bulletin.

It adds that 19 AN-2 planes have been modified to carry up to 1.5 tonnes of cargo each.

On September 7, several AN-2s flew in from Hungary and landed at Cepin airport near Osijek. They flew over the Hungarian-Yugoslav border at 20.40 hours (local time)—says the bulletin.

Fire was opened on two Yugoslav Air Force planes above Cepin airport that evening, it says.

On September 6, an overflight by a Hungarian Air Force helicopter was recorded in Yugoslavia. The helicopter flew in the direction of Osijek and returned to Hungary on the same day—says the bulletin.

The information service also said that it had information about an illegal entry of members of the Hungarian Armed Forces on the Yugoslav territory.

On August 24, a military motor vehicles with two Hungarian officers entered Yugoslavia from Hungary at the Donji Miholjac border crossing. The vehicle was met by members of the interior ministry of the republic of Croatia—says the bulletin.

The Hungarian government knows about this, said the source citing that a rocket division of the Hungarian anti-aircraft defence force was deployed hear the town of Villany.

[Budapest Kossuth radio Network in Hungarian at 2000 GMT on 11 September carries a report about the allegations raised in the TANJUG report. The announcer says that Defense Ministry spokesman Colonel Gyoergy Keleti and Foreign Ministry spokesman Janos Herman were contacted for a reaction to the report but they "are still gathering information."]

Rupel Urges Conference To Recognize Slovenia

LD1109200391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1758 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Ljubljana, Sept 11 (TANJUG)—Foreign Minister of the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia Dimitrij Rupel said today that the peace conference on Yugoslavia in The Hague could not change Slovenia's decision to become an independent and sovereign state.

In a letter to conference chairman Lord Carrington, Rupel said he expected that the conference would recognize Slovenia's independence.

Slovenia expects the peace conference on Yugoslavia to enable "agreement on Slovenia's peaceful disassociation from Yugoslavia".

The conference resumes work tomorrow.

Slovenia urges cooperation with states in the territory of present-day Yugoslavia modelled after the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, said Rupel.

"Slovenia will neither be a part of a federation, nor a confederation or an association of sovereign republics or states," said Rupel and added that it was "prepared to develop goodneighbourly, economic and other relations with Yugoslav states or their alliances".

Slovenia

Slovene President—Reconciliation 'No Longer Possible'

LD1109195691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1724 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Lisbon/Ljubljana, Sept 11 (TANJUG)—President of Yugoslavia's Republic of Slovenia Milan Kucan said that reconciliation between Slovenia and Yugoslavia "is no longer possible" and that "Slovenia now expects the international community to recognize it as an independent state."

"E.C. recognition is the most important for us," said Kucan in an interview published by the Portuguese daily DIARIO DE NOTICIAS today. "After that, we will establish a common-language policy with our neighbours—Austria, Italy, Croatia and Hungary," he added.

Croatia is another Yugoslav republic which, like Slovenia, unilaterally declared independence on June 25.

During a visit to Lisbon yesterday, Kucan presented Slovenia's arguments for international recognition of its independence to Portuguese Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva, who said that Portugal would abide by the E.C. stands.

Slovenian Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel said today that the peace conference on Yugoslavia was the regular way to international recognition of Slovenia.

Slovenian Information Minister Jelko Kacin said at a round table meeting today that the president of the E.C. Ministerial Council, Dutch Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek, was doing everything to keep Yugoslavia as a single state until his term of office expired, but that he would not succeed in preventing all Western countries to recognize Slovenia.

Croatia

Twenty Army Officers Resign in Mali Losinj

LD1109142991 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] So far, 20 Yugoslav Army officers in Mali Losinj have resigned. In addition, two civilians working in the Yugoslav Army have also resigned. An unofficial assessment shows that one third of the overall officer cadre on the island of Losinj has ceased working in the Federal Army. Details from appropriate muncipal bodies of Cres-Losinj show that the vacancies that arose following the resignations have not yet been filled. The majority of

these officers do not wish to leave the island of Losinj where they have lived for a number of years, but wish to continue to live here and contribute to the prosperity of the island.

Troop Carriers Intercepted Near Dubrovnik

LD1109141691 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Excerpt] During his routine news conference in Dubrovnik today Miljenko Bratus, secretary of the Dubrovnik Municipal Secretariat for National Defense, informed the journalists that a column of 65 personnel carriers moving along the Neretva River valley had been stopped near Metkovic at about noon today. The intention of this military column, made up of Serbian reservists and terrorists, was to bisect Dalmatia at the Neretva River thus cutting off Dubrovnik and all of south Dalmatia. [passage omitted]

1 Serb, 30 Hungarian Reservists Surrender

LD1109163691 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Excerpts] The information service in Vinkovci has reported that a group of reservists from Serbia surrendered today in Ban Jelacica Street in Mirkovci, in the Vinkovci area. The group comprises 30 Hungarians and one Serb. They surrendered two armored combat vehicles, one truck, and all their weapons and equipment.

The young men told members of Croatian armed forces that they had been mobilized on Friday, 6 September. Their call-up card said they were going to do their military exercises in Subotica, lasting 30 days. They were taken in trucks to Sid and then to Mirkovci. [passage omitted]

At 1530 today they had to be taken from Mirkovci to the Djuro Salaj barracks in Vinkovci, but the moment they saw the Vinkovci road sign they surrendered to Croatian defense forces at the first barricade.

Forces Abandon Jasenice, Bridge Position

LD1109183991 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Under a fierce onslaught by the Army-terrorist forces, Croatian defense forces in late afternoon were forced to abandon Jasenice. At about 1800, a high column of smoke was seen billowing from the village. It is supposed that after the entry of the strong—mainly Army tank—units into the village, terrorists started setting houses on fire.

Croatian fighters had to withdraw from the southern side of the Maslenicki bridge before the considerably stronger forces of the enemy. On the same side of the bridge, the main coastal road is being covered over with soil to prevent the enemy's advance on Posedarje and Zadar. Explosions can be heard in the area around the bridge, which is covered in thick, black smoke. Reinforcements are on the way to the Croatian forces.

During today's fighting, just one member of the National Guard was slightly wounded. There were no other losses. On the enemy's side, a tank and an armored personnel vehicle were destroyed, and according to the National Guard, the enemy's human losses are great.

Croatian Police Control Highway Section

LD1109194591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1607 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Zagreb, Sept 11 (TANJUG)—Croatian Interior Ministry forces are controlling the part of the Zagreb-Belgrade highway running through Croatia, Croatian Assistant Interior Minister Milan Brezak told a regular press conference today.

Brezak said the Croatian forces "will very soon clear the areas near Novska and Okucani from terrorists." He explained that "the action will only be taken against terrorists", because all women and children have left the villages held by terrorists.

Summing up the situation on the battlefront in the past month, Brezak said that "Serbia and the army are trying to conquer Croatian territory." During the period, 450 mortar and heavy artillery attacks were launched on Croatian forces, villages and cities, and 16,000 shells were fired, which testifies to the scope of the operations and proves that involved is a real war against Croatia, he added.

Government Discusses War Activities

LD1109193891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1641 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Zagreb, 11 Sep (TANJUG)—The discussion on current "war activities in the Republic of Croatia" replaced some 20 other themes, mainly economic, at this afternoon's session of the Government of the Republic of Croatia. The government members demanded that the highest Yugoslav leadership should do something to stop the aggression against the Republic of Croatia.

Luka Bebic, Defense Minister of Croatia, said that "the situation has already developed into a real war." According to the latest information, a general attack by tank units in the direction of Krusevo on the Dalmatian coast, with the possible intention of destroying the bridge at Maslenica and thus "definitely divide Croatia into two parts," has also begun.

Bebic then pointed out that all the endeavors and trust of the Croatian Government as regards the EC initiatives and the European peace teams "have again proved to be sheer fallacy" from which "we need to draw certain conclusions." The defense minister expressed the view that following these new raids of conquest it is indispensable "to call on all forces to defend Croatia."

After Ivan Vekic, minister of internal affairs, submitted details of "ever more frequent attacks by the Yugoslav Army and "new trials for the members of the Croatian defense forces," Prime Minister Dr Franjo Greguric agreed with the view that "the Army carried out a silent *military coup.*" *He also urged the mobilization of all* forces for the defense of Croatia.

Dr Zdravko Tomac, deputy prime minister, informed the government that following yesterday's talks with the members of the government of Bosnia-Hercegovina promises were made that "there will be no more attacks from this side." However, he said, already today "the Army moved toward Croatia from this very republic." According to Tomac, this means that "the army has also occupied Bosnia-Hercegovina."

Late this afternoon, the government of the Republic of Croatia continued its session behind closed doors, obviously in keeping with the extraordinary situation now prevailing in Croatia.

In the course of the session, however, it was said that tomorrow the Croatian delegation will go to The Hague to attend the peace conference. This will be done, as stated by foreign minister Zvonimir Separovic, "unwillingly" and to openly tell everybody that "the war in Croatia continues."

Meeting of Military, Croatian Authorities in Split

LD1109200891 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1900 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] A meeting was held in Split today between representatives of the Naval District and the Croatian authorities. It was agreed that both the Army and the police authorities would nominate their liaison officers who would intervene as the need arises to prevent clashes from escalating further. An agreement was also reached to resume talks in the villages of the Skradin hinterland—where last week an agreement was signed by the local communities, the Army, and the Sibenik municipality, but which Milan Babic [Krajina prime minister] described as an act of treason. The Army representatives were told to try to persuade representatives of the Knin municipality to accept the agreement.

Belgrade Reports Attack on Mirkovci

AU1209105991 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] The village of Mirkovci was attacked last night by members of the [Croatian] Ministry of Internal Affairs and the National Guard Corps from Vinkovci, Ceric, and Privlaka, the Sid Commune Information Center reports. A unit of the Yugoslav People's Army in the village was also attacked. The shots were fired from heavy artillery weapons, as well as from machine guns and other infantry weapons.

Nobody was wounded among the members of the village defense forces and members of the Yugoslav People's Army. More attacks may be expected, because a general mobilization has been carried out in this area.

It has been observed that members of the [Croatian] Ministry of Internal Affairs and the National Guard *unloaded army uniforms from two railroad wagons in* Jankovci station. Members of the [Croatian] Ministry of Internal Affairs and the National Guard may use uniforms of the Yugoslav People's Army in the attacks in order to compromise the Yugoslav People's Army.

TANJUG Roundup on Overnight Situation

LD1209115791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1037 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] Zagreb, Osijek, Sept 12 (TANJUG)—Missiles and rifle- launched grenades were fired at the garrison command in Osijek, eastern Slavonija, around 21:00 local time yesterday, as military sources said this morning.

The European Community (E.C.) commission, which visited the barracks this morning, found several offices destroyed, as the garrison command set out.

Military sources claim that fire was returned from all available weapons.

The barracks in Vukovar, eastern Croatia, were also attacked last night. Military sources said that fire was fiercely returned, but no further information have been given so far.

Clashes in Osijek ceased around midnight. Osijek residents left shelters after an all-clear signal was given sometime after midnight, as TANJUG correspondent reported.

Osijek radio said fire was opened at Osijek from the direction of the Osijek barracks and the Baranja region which is controlled by Serbian territorial forces, and from Serb-populated villages Bijelo Brdo and Tenja. The radio said mortars, tanks and rocket launchers were used in the attack.

Radio reported that two civilians were killed. Osijek authorities have not yet given any information about material damages.

Fierce fighting resumed between the Serb-populated village Bijelo Brdo and the village Sarvas controlled by strong Croatian forces around 9 a.m. today, according to military sources. The two villages are located around 15 kilometers east from Osijek.

Fighting resumed near Skradin, northern Dalmatia, this morning after a lull last night.

Serbian sources in Knin said battles continued also near Obrovac and Maslenicki most, where, as they claim, Knin corps units penetrated. No casualities were reported.

Vukovar was the 'target of an attack by terrorists and the occupying army,' as Croatian radio reported, adding that heavy mortar and large-caliber gun fire was opened at the town.

Fierce fighting took place in Vinkovci (around 30 kilometers west of Vukovar) whose residents spent 12 hours in shelters, as Croatian radio reported. Grenade fire which opened from the direction of the barracks ceased before sunrise, according to radio reports.

According to the Croatian radio version, the attack on Vinkovci started after '30 reservists had fled the barracks.' The garrison command delivered the ultimatum to the Vinkovci authorities that the lorry and reservists be returned, but this did not happen and the attack began, the radio reported.

Military sources said Croatian forces seized a military vehicle in Vinkovci, thus provoking the clashes last night. The Army this morning denied allegations on Croatian radio, according to which Vinkovci was bombarded air force planes this morning.

TANJUG correspondent reported fresh clashes between Croatian forces and Serbian territorial forces near Stara Gradiska and Okucani, western Slavonija, last night. No casualties were reported among the Federal Army members.

TANJUG correspondent in Pakrac, western Slavonija, said it was relatively quiet in the Pakrac area last night, with sporadic shooting. The water supply has been cut off in the deserted town, which is controlled by the Croatian Guard and police. Serbian territorial defence forces control the neighbouring villages.

Serbia

Zagreb Radio Reports 10 Sep Pristina Protest

AU1109143391 Zagreb Radio Croatia in Albanian 2115 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Nuhi Bytyci report from Pristina—live or recorded]

[Text] The Serbian occupying forces prevented the preannounced protest gathering of teachers of the Republic of Kosovo against violence and the closure of Albanian schools at all levels. Several tens of thousands of teachers and other Albanian citizens from all parts of Kosovo who had come to our capital city in order to take part in this demonstration organized by the Naim Frasheri Teachers Association and the Independent Trade Union of Academic and Educational Workers of Kosovo started to gather outside the Philosophy Faculty at about 1400 today, but at the same time large armed Serbian police forces also began to assemble with the aim of preventing this gathering, and then intervened in the harshest way against the assembled crowds. The police used truncheons, automatic rifle butts, tear gas, and other means of force against the peaceful protesters, who retreated. Some of them carried banners reading [words indistinct]. At about 1510, a Serbian policemen threatened the crowds with an ultimatum to disperse within 15 minutes, or else the police would intervene again. In light of the danger of intervention by the police with firearms, the crowd began to disperse quietly on the instructions of Dr. Zekeria Cana, but the police again used the opportunity to mercilessly beat the elderly, women, and anyone standing in their way as far as the building of the Albanological Institute, the Xhevdet Doda Secondary School, and the open space in front of the Radio Pristina building.

In this violent intervention, many people were injured and we have learned that the young Avni Shala from Barileve suffered gunshot wounds. In the course of their official duties, the Serbian militia arrested ZERI I RINISE photographer Hazir Reka, and, after the crowds were dispersed, Professor Dr. Fehmi Agani, deputy chairman of the Kosovo Democratic Alliance, was taken to the Pristina state security center for what was called an informative discussion. He was released after two hours.

Army Statement on Incident of 30 Recruits

LD1109215391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Sep (TANJUG)—The information service of the First Military District command issued the following statement this evening:

At about 1430 today members of the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs [MUP] stopped the last vehicle in the army column, which was moving from the direction of Mirkovci toward Vinkovci, and drove the vehicle carrying 30 army recruits to the Vinkovci police station. Considering that such action on part of the MUP had not been prompted by anything and that the column had been dutifully reported to the authorities, members of the Vinkovci garrison demanded that the army recruits and the combat vehicle be returned to the barracks by 1800. However, the president of Vinkovci municipality and other officials in charge refused to meet this demand.

Instead of meeting the demand a general attack was carried out at 1945 this evening on the Vinkovci barracks, after which the unit responded by opening fire.

In addition to the above, at 2025 the MUP and the National Guard launched an attack on the army club in Osijek. The attack was carried out using hand-held launchers and other missiles, causing considerable material damage.

No army personnel sustained any injuries in these clashes.

Air Force Command Denies Bombing Vinkovci

LD1209124891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0859 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Sep (TANJUG)—In reaction to reports this morning on the Croatian radio that air force planes were bombing Vinkovci, the Air Force Command information office has been authorized to issue a statement denying most energetically these blatant fabrications.

The statement stresses that at that time there were no military aircraft in the area and the aim of these fabrications is plain and unmistakable. This is not the first time that an attempt has been made to present the Yugoslav People's Army as an occupying force and as an aggressor in order to justify before one's people the futile, fascist-inspired policy which is pushing Croatia into even greater terror, the statement says in conclusion.

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Izetbegovic Favors Preservation of Yugoslav Community

AU1109162091 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-CRoatian 1300 GMT 11 sep 91

[Text] We are still striving to preserve the Yugoslav community: This is in the interest of Europe. This was said today by Alija Izetbegovic at a session of the Assembly of Bosnia-Hercegovina, while briefing the deputies on his participation at the conference in The Hague. Here is a report from Ljubomir Nikolic in Sarajevo:

[Nikolic] Explaining the stands that he took at the conference in The Hague last Saturday [7 September], Alija Izetbegovic expressed the belief that it is possible to preserve the Yugoslav community because this is in the interest of all the peoples in this area, as well as the European Community. I am convinced that the first solution that Europe will offer us and on which it will insist will be a community of Yugoslav peoples and republics, Izetbegovic said today.

Appealing to all parties and peoples in Bosnia-Hercegovina to preserve peace, Alija Izetbegovic again expressed the belief that a conflict in Bosnia-Hercegovina would have catastrophic consequences and would harm all the peoples and citizens of this republic, just as the conflict in Croatia has harmed both the Croats and Serbs.

Despite the differences in views of the position of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the future setup of the Yugoslav community, we must seek every other way out only so that there is no fighting and civil war, Izetbegovic stressed.

Speaking about the ineffectual talks in Belgrade, he repeated the stand that this was a meeting between two republics, Serbia and Croatia, and that according to the Constitution of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Momcilo Krajisnik could not represent this republic. As he said, he quarreled about this in The Hague with Slobodan Milosevic.

Today and probably tomorrow, the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly is due to discuss Alija Izetbegovic's speech and the political security situation in the republic, but in the meantime, the Serbian Democratic Party has sharply reacted to the statements that were made by Haris Silajdzic, republican foreign minister, in Vienna. He said there that Bosnia-Hercegovina [word indistinct] leave Yugoslavia if this is done by Slovenia and Croatia; he advocated the arrival of blue helmets in Yugoslavia; he compared the situation in Croatia with Saddam Husayn's invasion of Kuwait, and, regarding the referendum in Bosnia-Hercegovina, he said that this will be carried out regardless of the wish of the Serbian people.

Nobody authorized Silajdzic to take 1,360,000 Bosnia-Hercegovina Serbs out of Yugoslavia. This would not happen even with the help of the blue helmets he is inviting to our country. Such a man cannot represent our interests in The Hague tomorrow, and we will consider the demand that he submits his resignation in the government of Bosnia-Hercegovina. This was stressed by the Serbian Democratic Party.

Finally, news from the Party of Democratic Action. At today's regular news conference, it was said regarding the Milan Martic affair, that the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina had acted in the most reasonable way, avoiding bloodshed. The Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs should explain why it acted this way. [sentence as heard]

Assembly To Consider All Peace Options

LD1109193791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1841 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Sarajevo, 11 Sep (TANJUG)—The Assembly of Bosnia-Hercegovina today agreed to consider all possible options so that the Yugoslav crisis may be resolved in a peaceful and democratic way. In this way the Assembly indirectly adopted the report of Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina, at The Hague peace conference.

Alija Izetbegovic announced at the Assembly session that the Bosnian Presidency would meet tomorrow to examine the reports heard today on the serious political and security situation in this republic, and proposed a discussion on the subject in the Assembly next week.

Pelivan Addresses Bosnian Assembly

AU1109211591 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1735 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Speech by Jure Pelivan, president of the Executive Council of Bosnia-Hercegovina, at the session of the Assembly of Bosnia-Hercegovina in Sarajevo on 11 September—live; broadcast in progress]

[Text] ....two reports: one 25-page report was prepared by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and another 10-page report was prepared by the Ministry for National Defense. Since this was done last night, the government could not completely verify these reports today, that is to say this morning, due to the lack of time. They have been copied, and being reports by two competent ministries, they can be distributed to the deputies if the president and the Presidency should decide.

On this occasion I would, on behalf of the government, stress only a few basic conclusions. On the basis of consideration of the facts regarding the security situation in the Republic, the government states that the clash of two Yugoslav political options which correspond with the prevailing political options, particularly in Serbia and Croatia but also in the political parties and structures in Bosnia-Hercegovina, is having various negative effects in Bosnia-Hercegovina too, where the security situation is worsening.

War on the territory of the Republic of Croatia increasingly threatens to spread into Bosnia-Hercegovina and hinder the implementation of the tasks of the Government of Bosnia-Hercegovina and its ministries, which are regulated by the Constitution and the law. The polarization at the national level has been transferred almost completely to the political life in Bosnia-Hercegovina, which is manifested above all in the absence of consensus on key political issues among the political parties with the greatest number of deputies in the Assembly.

Division in political parties and in the Assembly as a whole also produces division in the Government of Bosnia-Hercegovina when key issues are discussed regarding the functioning of the republic's constitutional order, which is transferred further onto the activities of certain ministries. There is particular stress on the negative consequences of division according to party affiliation when this concerns the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Ministry of National Defense, where the leading political parties have not yet managed to establish complete principles of common action which would allow them to function professionally.

Since the general Yugoslav polarization and particularly the one in Bosnia-Hercegovina reflects programs on the reorganization of the constitutionality of the structure in Yugoslavia—in which respect, undemocratic and violent means are not ruled out—very powerful military and paramilitary armed structures are stationed on the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina. The Government of Bosnia-Hercegovina has thus been put into a position whereby any use of means of coercion (?in) the protection of the constitutional order [words indistinct] from the point of view that it itself does not contribute to the (?beginning) of interethnic conflicts of unforeseeable dimensions.

In this respect, [word indistinct] of the reliance of political options on paramilitary formations weakens the position of the constitutional institutions of the security system so that the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of National Defense are subjected to constant attack and public discredit. Polarization in the government is aided by the different stands of the parties in relation to the position of the Yugoslav People's Army, which hinders the establishment of fuller cooperation between the government and the Army.

I do not wish to give an assessment here of individual incidents in Bosnia-Hercegovina—they are well known—but I must say that virtually no affair that has occurred on the territory of Bosnia- Hercegovina in the last few months has been fully clarified. An investigation is under way, but many extenuating circumstances exist.

I must say in this respect that there is insufficient coordination and insufficient consensus among the cadres in the Ministry of Internal Affairs as well. When a case is initiated, everything depends on which case is concerned. Certain cadres with certain national affiliations are usually in some way put in the position of arbitrating or diluting the investigation and successfully completing certain cases. All this is a reflection of the entire situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The government and the ministries bear a part of the responsibility. However, can one expect efficient government work in such a situation, especially if one considers these incidents and if one knows that in every action a contrary political stand of one of the parties is often present?

Neither the ministries nor the government has sufficient support for its official organs of power to undertake actions and carry out its duties. I must remind you that this all started with regionalization and progressed from there. Government decisions are being entirely ignored in certain regions, and particularly in the individual communes. Therefore, to improve the situation we must secure the basic prerequisites. These prerequisites are: first, that we reach a political consensus in the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly on full neutrality of Bosnia-Hercegovina in the clashes that are going on adjacent to the Republic so that we can direct our organs toward the protection of the constitutionality and legality in the Republic itself. Second, Bosnia-Hercegovina territory must be protected from being used as a territory for the activities aimed against other republics. Third, the Ministry of Internal Affairs is allowed and given political support for carrying out the activities outlined by the law on the whole territory of the Republic. The Yugoslav Peoples' Army must act in accordance with the Constitution and the law. It must not take sides and succumb to the political options while carrying out its duties, that is to say, it must cooperate with the responsible state organs in Bosnia-Hercegovina and vice-versa. We must also prevent the activities of all illegal armed formations.

Without those basic prerequisites, without the clear support of this Assembly for the government and the ministries to suppress the illegal actions and activities of the paramilitary formations, we will not be able to fulfill our tasks successfully, bearing in mind all possible consequences. In its efforts to increase efficiency, this month the government will submit the reorganization of the ministries, including the possible reshuffle of the government, to the Assembly. However, the basic question that remains is the issue of parliaments' political support for the government and the individual ministries that are particularly involved in those sensitive security matters in the Republic.

In the name of the government, I propose that those two comprehensive reports be examined by the Presidency of the Republic in two appropriate committees without delay and that the Presidency also take a political stance toward it. I ask this Assembly to extend its support for the functioning and implementation of the constitutional and legal powers to the government and to the individual ministries. Only with such unreserved political support can the Bosnia-Hercegovina Government undertake the responsibility to act successfully in these hard times.

I have only one additional proposal. [Word indistinct], I would like to remind you about the stand of the Presidency and the government that we continue to advocate the stand that the Army units stationed on the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina not leave [their barracks], not even in the sensitive areas, but that we instead concentrate on strengthening the regular forces for maintaining peace, order, and security in the Republic—that is the police; that we give the police full authority and support and that we strengthen supervision over everyone in all crisis areas, incidents in the Republic, and particularly in the border areas near Croatia, where military conflicts are going on. In this way, we could calm the situation and through joint efforts ensure that the military conflicts do not spread to Bosnia-Hercegovina. That is all.

Macedonia

Kljusevr Urges Alliance of Sovereign States

LD1109200291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1524 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Sofia, Sept 11 (TANJUG)—Premier of the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia Nikola Kljusev has stated that the republic expects to participate on an equal basis in the building of a new alliance of sovereign Yugoslav states.

If such an alliance is not set up, the independence of the Macedonian state will be reflected in all spheres, said Kljusev in an interview published by the Sofia daily ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME today.

In a referendum held on September 8, Macedonia voted for an independent and sovereign state with the possibility of entering into an alliance of sovereign states.

Kljusev said he did not believe that the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia would impose any economic blockade on Macedonia following the referendum.

The Macedonian premier, who is due to visit Bulgaria soon, said he would gladly come to Sofia "for talks on future cooperation and economic interests".

Claims on the nonexistence of the Macedonian nation "are not true and this is not a serious approach to assessing Macedonia" said Kljusev in the interview which was also carried by the NARODNA ARMIYA daily.

Bulgarian President Zhelyo Zhelev said recently that his country would recognize Macedonia, but not the Macedonian nation.

The Macedonian information ministry said today that Kljusev would soon visit Bulgaria, but that the date of the visit had not been set yet. The ministry added that a Macedonian business delegation would go to Bulgaria next week as part of preparations for Kljusev's visit.

Republic To Purchase Citizens' Foreign Currency

AU1209123391 Skopje Radio Macedonia Network in Macedonian 2000 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] To protect the Macedonian economy, which has been brought into an unenviable position by the fact that the Yugoslav foreign exchange market has ceased functioning, the Republic Government has decided to purchase foreign currency from citizens at the average rate of 78 percent higher than the official one. This was announced at today's news conference at the Economic Chamber of Macedonia, at which it was also said that a foreign currency market will be formed in Macedonia soon. Foreign currency will be purchased in the interest and in the name of the Republic, which means that it will remain in Macedonia.

The National Bank of Macedonia will decide upon priorities and future use of it. The rate at which the foreign currency will be purchased is established on the basis of the data supplied by the Ljubljana Bank Foreign Currency Market, which change twice a week. Foreign currency will be purchased in all exchange offices in Macedonia, the Skopje Branch of the Ljubljana Bank, and in the joint-stock companies of Fersped, (?Fero-Turist), and Makosped.

Montenegro

President Bulatovic Favors Negotiations With EC

LD1109171391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1503 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Titograd, September 11 (TANJUG)—President of Yugoslavia's Republic of Montenegro Momir Bulatovic expressed belief that the European Community (E.C.) at the peace conference in the Hague, would not decide in favour of enforcing solutions on the Yugoslav peoples by political and economic shows of force.

Bulatovic made the statement in an interview to Swedish radio and published today by the Titograd daily POBJEDA.

'Any solution which would place the people in Yugoslavia in a subservient position, would be counterproductive and would not achieve that which is the joint interest of all, namely, the resolving of the crisis in a peaceful and democratic manner,' said Bulatovic.

Butatovic explained that there were three options in seeking a solution to the Yugoslav crisis. 'Under one option, Europe would wash its hands of us, make a corridor around us and leave us to kill each other off,' he said.

The second option called for a 'forceful division into democratic and non-democratic republics.' According to Bulatovic, this would have far-reaching effects on the citizens and peoples in Yugoslavia.

'The third option is the one decided on by Europe, and that is to sit down at a negotiating table with us and persistently seek a solution which would enable the final resolving of the Yugoslav crisis,' said Bulatovic. He added that this last option was the only one that was rational and acceptable to all the peoples in the country.